SAKTI OR DIVINE POWER

(A HISTORICAL STUDY BASED ON ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS)

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Śakti or Divine Power

CHAPTER I

Evolution of the Idea of Śakti in Vedic Literature

Before dealing with the idea of Śakti or Divine Power and its gradual development throughout the extensive field of Vedic literature, which roughly covers a period of at least a thousand years and a half, it is necessary to say a word or two about the general nature of this earliest branch of Ancient Indian Literature. Apart from the four Saṃhitās, the Vedas include a number of Brāhmaṇas or books of ritualistic explanations of hymns. Then there are the Āraṇyakas or "Forest Treatises" and a fairly large number of Upanishads or books of metaphysical and mystical speculation. Besides these the Śrauta and the Gṛhya Sūtras inculcating and describing Vedic ritual practices are also regarded as forming an integral portion of the Vedas. Then come such works as are called Prātiśākhyas or treatises on Vedic grammar, Śikshās or manuals on Vedic Phonetics, Kalpasūtras, Anukramaṇī or Indices and numerous other treatises of similar nature. It is needless to mention that anyone who is acquainted with the history of ancient Sanskrit

literature will fully realise the vastness of the output of this period of the intellectual activities of the Hindus. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to maintain that a thoroughly historical and critical study of this whole body of Vedic literature would demand nothing short of the laborious attention and utmost patience of a life-long study. So we should like to point out that nothing of this kind is to be expected from this dissertation. The peculiar nature of the Vedas also renders our task of tracing an evolution of the idea of Divine Śakti much more difficult. The Vedas comprising the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and such other works, are neither the compositions of a single author nor do they belong to a definite period of Indian chronology. The Saṃhitās are the 'aggregate assemblage' as H. H. Wilson describes them, 'in a single collection of the hymns or laudatory verses and liturgic formulae' composed by various Ṛshis or seers of truth at different times. There are many indications in the Saṃhitās of the fact that the hymns were often composed by the heads of families, or of schools adhering to a common form of worship. Then there is another peculiar difficulty which is bound to present itself to every student of the Vedas, *viz.*, the extremely disconnected and highly nebulous character of the ideas which they enshrine. The Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and even the Upanishads—all seem to point to a stage of human thought when people

seemed to think and talk in the language of metaphors and imageries. Solid facts of the physical order of nature and fictions or the impressions they left on the receptive imagination of men seem to have blended so completely that the Vedic Ṛshi could say that Indra with his thunder-bolt pierced the cloud-demon Vṛtra and poured forth rain. Sometimes it becomes almost impossible to find out what natural phenomenon is at the background of the Ṛshi's utterance in a particular hymn. Like the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas also lack fundamental unity of subject-matter. They are, as Sylvain Lévi rightly points out, 'a common treasure-house of aphorisms, anecdotes and legends circulated amongst the sacerdotal clans.' They were composed at a time when the priestly authors no longer possessed that freshness of imagination which characterised the seers of the Saṃhitās. Priestcraft, with its complicated machinery of sacrifices comprising innumerable ritualistic details, was fully established. The main interest of these sacerdotal priests, far from being an intellectual pursuit of truth for its own sake, centred round the sacrificial altar which for them represented the 'Nābhiḥ' or centre of the earth. In them the Vedic Mantras are invariably explained with reference to some particular sacrificial rite, regardless of the context they may have in the Saṃhitās themselves. The hypostatising tendency is, again, at its highest in the Brāhmaṇas.

fact that in later times the rival schools of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism tried to trace their origin from the same Upanishadic teachings and often drew quite conflicting conclusions from the same texts. Thus the Upanishads may truly be likened to a melting pot where the different creeds of post-Vedic schools are all indistinguishably mixed up in a liquefied state and are already in the process of making. Reviewing this common shadowy character of the speculations of the Vedic literature from the Saṃhitās down to the Upanishads, we can unhesitatingly say that all of them more or less indicate a state of primitive thought in a condition of extreme plasticity. In a word, their thought neither took a determinate shape nor moved in a definite direction. It possessed the fluid character of molten gold, as it were, which was subsequently placed by the originators of different systems of thought in definite moulds and turned out into different shapes. In spite of these initial difficulties in dealing with the Vedic literature it is not altogether impossible to trace an outline of the different stages of the evolution of the idea of Śakti from the simple conception of 'agencies of divine powers' manifested in the physical operation of Nature, to the complex and abstract notion of one 'Divine Creative Power' operating in the production and government of the universe. This is possible because the Ṛgveda, the important Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads

contain at any rate almost all the germs of later theological and philosophical speculations. Although the idea of one Supreme Śakti as a distinct and full-bodied theological principle evolving the inner and outer worlds of thought and reality in conjunction with a male counterpart, either Śiva or Vishṇu, as in the later schools of Kashmere Śaivism or Bengal Vaishṇavism, is scarcely conceived in this literature, we can nevertheless trace the first origin of this tendency in the hymns of the Ṛgveda, the contents of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads.

Let us first of all consider the hymns of the Ṛgveda, which is admittedly the earliest record of Indo-Aryan thought, and some portions of which are even supposed to have been composed before the Aryan settlers of the Punjab separated from their Iranian brethren and entered the valley of the Indus. In the hymns of the Ṛgveda we do not find any mention of Śakti as a definite creative principle. But the immense forces of nature, acting in such striking phenomena as floating clouds, thunder, lightning and rain, already influenced the minds of the Ṛshis, who were peculiarly open to such impressions of grandeur from without. The play of elemental forces, sometimes terrible and sometimes pleasing, led them to the belief in the presence and agency of many 'divine powers' whose characters, as Dr. Muir points out, "corresponded with those of the

physical operations or appearances in which they were manifested." The imaginative faculty of the Ṛshis being stimulated to its highest pitch by the observation of these changes and variations in the processes of nature, they failed, in their exuberance of child-like wonder, to regard them as regular physical facts of material nature and ascribed them as 'functions' to various gods or divine agents presiding over the different departments of nature. Out of these various 'cosmic functions' of gods such as Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, etc., slowly emerges the first vague notion of Śakti or Divine Power, not conceived as a single category, but in a pluralistic sense. Thus every one of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon may be said to have, in a sense, a basis of Śakti. If, for example, we eliminate Indra's specific power of slaying the cloud-demon Vṛtra and letting loose the pent-up herds of cattle or rain he, the Lord of Might, ceases to have any meaning to the Vedic Ṛshi and almost melts away into nothingness. The same thing holds true, more or less, with regard to the other gods.

Thus, for instance, Agni is specifically described in the Ṛgveda as having three functions : first, as heat-energy manifested not only in the culinary or sacrificial fire but in his terrestrial operation as the energy of gastric fire, life and vegetative growth; second, in his operation in the atmosphere or mid-region as the (electric) energy of lightning;

and third, in his celestial operation as light and solar energy in the sun, the dawn and the planetary bodies. If the idea of these special functions or 'powers of operation' is taken away from the conception of Agni he almost immediately loses his specific character of a Vedic deity. Again, in the case of Tvashṭṛ, his specific function consists in his power (Śakti or Śacī) or creative agency in the womb to bring about the transformation of the different forms or rather types of creatures. The idea of this power or function of "Rūpavikartṛtva" (or that of 'an omni-form vivifier') forms an essential element in the constitution of his being, which cannot be removed without destroying his personality altogether. It should, however, be pointed out that a rigorous application of this method of elimination to all the gods of the Ṛgveda is not possible. This is so because the individual personalities of all the gods of the Vedic pantheon are not always well-defined. Very frequently the same functions are attributed to different gods. The protective and wealth-bestowing functions, for instance, are common to all the deities. But there is no doubt that in the Ṛgveda the gods are conceived as presiding over the operations of the various departments of nature, each having as a rule the privilege of lording over a special domain. But it is not always possible to draw a line marking off the boundary of the domain of a particular deity.

What we would point out is that although the agencies of nature are so imperfectly personified in the Ṛgveda that the personality of one deity tended to merge into that of another, the character of each principal god regarded as a whole, had for its nucleus a conception of certain Śaktis, or, as it was then termed, Śacīs. It is, perhaps, in this notion of Śacī, though crude and simple, that we find the first faint glimmer of the Divine Śakti-principle in the earliest stage of formation. But here the process of conceiving these Śaktis or 'nature-functions of divinities' as something separate from, yet acting in close association with, their male counterparts, as in later times, has not begun.

In this connection it is worth while to consider in what manner and in what sense the words Śakti and Śacī, often in the plural, are employed in the hymns. The word Śakti is used about a dozen times in the Ṛgveda, mostly in connection with Indra. Once or twice it is also used in connection with Agni and the Aśvins. Sāyaṇa, the famous Indian commentator, explains it differently in different places. Under Ṛgveda I. 109, 3 he explains 'Pitṝṇāṃ Śaktir' as the ' power of procreation of the Fathers.' Under III. 57, 3 he explains Śaktim as the ' power of fertilization.' Elsewhere (III. 31, 14) 'Śaktir' is explained by him as Indra's 'deeds of charity' (Indrasaṃbandhīni dānāni). In IV. 22,8 Śaktiḥ seems to mean the ' power accruing to the priests owing to ritual performance.'

V. 31,6 applies the epithet Śaktivaḥ which perhaps means 'possessor of powerful functions or deeds' (Karma). The sense of 'functions' (Karmabhiḥ) in the instrumental also occurs in X. 88,10 :—" Stomena hi divi devāso Agnim ajījanacchaktibhiḥ Tamū akṛṇvan tredhābhuve kaṃ sa oshadhiḥ pacati viśvarūpaḥ." The point to be noted in these references to Śakti is that the word has already given rise to the two most important ideas of the 'vivifying powers of (I) reproduction and (II) fertilization, either in the animal (in the ovum) or vegetable world.' These ideas constituting the conception of Śakti are important because we shall see later on how these two ideas are practically at the basis of all the female goddesses of the Ṛgvedic Gnā type such as Sarasvatī, Ilā, Dhishaṇā and others. In the philosophical sense this idea of generation, meaning 'to give birth to the world of names and forms, played an important part in the post-Vedic connotation of Śakti as the ' Female Creative Principle ' fashioning the world out of her womb (sarvaprapañcajananī) as the Vimarśa Śakti of the Kashmere Trika.

It appears that the seers of the Ṛgveda were more fond of the word Śacī than of Śakti. Śacī is the typical Vedic word to denote the ' divine powers ' of the gods. Śacībhiḥ in the instrumental plural is used on more than thirty occasions in the Ṛgveda in praise of various gods. But

this term, too, is specially associated with Indra, the divine type of a Kshatriya warrior of the Ṛgvedic age. As we pass on from the 1st to the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th Maṇḍalas of the Ṛgveda we find that the idea of closely associating Indra with Śacī or his 'divine power' has gained a firmer hold on the minds of the Ṛshis. Hence, in the later books they apply such an epithet as 'Śacīpatiḥ' to Indra meaning the 'Lord of Might.' Ṛgveda I. 56, 4 actually describes the Śacī of Indra as 'Devī Tavishī' or the 'Goddess of Might,' who waits upon him as the Sun attends the Dawn. Here evidently 'Tavishī' is nothing but Śacī conceived as Indra's 'Divine Consort' or 'Energy as his female counterpart.' This hymn is rather significant, as it marks a further development in the process of unifying the different Śacīs of Indra into one Śacī and actually making her his divine consort. Later on we see that this Śacī, who was originally nothing but Indra's deeds of power deified, became actually the wife of Indra—Indrāṇī (ṚV. I. 82, 5; 6; III. 53, 4 ff.; I. 22,12; II. 32, 8; V. 46, 8; X. 86, 11, 12). Pischel is perfectly right when he says that 'Indrāṇī' is not a personal name of Indra's lady, but that her real name in Vedic time was Śacī (*cf. Vedische Studien* by Pischel and Geldner, Band II, p. 52). In discussing the meaning of 'goḥ' in I. 121, 9 Pischel rejects Sāyaṇa's etymological explanation as 'Vajra' and arrives at the above

conclusion, when he affirms that 'goḥ' refers to Indra's Śakti or his 'personified strength' which he finds in battle. Hence, he understands by the above hymn that a cow, or a 'wifely conception in the abstract,' is here intended to be placed by the side of the bull or the 'masculine conception' of Indra (*op. cit.*, Band III, p. 164).

It is interesting to note here that Śacī as the Śakti-consort of Indra also figures in later Iconography. Hemādri gives the following description of her image:—"Indra's wife Śacī with her two arms must be seated on his (Indra's) left thigh. In three of his hands he holds a lotus, a goad and a thunder-bolt, while the fourth passes round the back of Śacī. One of the arms of Śacī, likewise, is passed round the back of Indra, the other holding a bunch of flowers of the wish-giving tree (Kalpa-vṛksha)." But the Ṛshis beyond unifying the multiple powers or functions of Indra under the category of Śacī could not very well take the next step of assigning particular creative functions to her. All that can be gathered from these highly obscure hymns alluding to her is that Śacī seems to have the function of assisting her lord Indra in his deeds of valour and charity. She certainly seems to have something to do with the task of stimulating the high-spirit of Indra's devotees in battle (ṚV. VII. 67, 5). It appears that through her Indra is made more powerful to exercise his protective function (ṚV. I. 56, 4).

In Taitt. Br. II. 4, 2, according to Sāyaṇa's explanation, she inspires fearlessness in the heart of Indra and maintains him at the front of the army. This passage runs as follows :—" *Indrāṇī devī subhagā supatnī udaṃśena patividye jigāya triṃśad asyā jaghanaṃ yojanāni upastha Indraṃ sthaviraṃ vibharti.*"

In Ṛ V. III. 60, 2, Śacī is not a mere blind physical force, but denotes ' skill or ability ' implying conscious intellectual faculty (Prajñā). All that can be gathered from these Sūktas is that, though the term Śacī originally meant nothing more than ' help or friendly assistance,' she came to be invested, even in the hymns of the earlier books of the Ṛgveda, with the character of an intelligent divine principle. The author of the Nighaṇṭu is not therefore very far from truth when he identifies Śacī with Vāk (Naigh. I. 11 ; also Durga on Nir. I. 11), who represents pre-eminently the Gnā type of the ' Female productive consorts of gods.'

Leaving aside the question of Śacī, let us turn to such hymns of the Ṛgveda as mention the Gnās or the ' Divine Consorts ' of the gods. For, in tracing the evolution of the Śakti-idea it is impossible to skip over the hymns alluding to the Gnās. The word Gnā, *lit.* 'women' (Greek γυνή), occurs in the Ṛgveda alone about seventeen or eighteen times in the nominative and accusative singular, and in the instrumental and

locative plural. The form "Gnāspati" is also once used in the 2nd Maṇḍala. In ṚV. I. 22, 10; II. 31, 4; V. 46, 2, 8; 49, 7 the word occurs with the female goddesses—Sarasvatī, Hotrā, Bhāratī, Varutrī, Dhishaṇā, Ilā, Puraṃdhi, Aramati, Agnāyī, Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī. Sāyaṇa, it seems, is not quite sure of its meaning. Sometimes he explains Gnā as the 'rising flame' of Agni (Gnā gantrir jvālāḥ, ṚV. V. 43, 13). Sometimes he says that it signifies the Vedic metres, Gāyatrī, etc. (ṚV. VI. 49, 7). At other times he explains it as referring to the consorts of gods such as Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Maruts, the Aśvins, Rudra, Pushan and Bhaga (ṚV. V. 46, 2), and quotes from Nirukta (III. 21) to show that Menā and Gnā are names of female beings. In spite of these different meanings given to the word by Sāyaṇa, it is quite clear from a collation of all the passages of the Ṛgveda where it occurs that Gnā belongs to the pre-historic stage of thought when male 'nature powers' were beginning to be associated with female 'energies.' In the Vedic stage Gnā certainly implies in the collective sense a 'group of Divine Females' who produce or promote fertility and wealth. Thus whereas the Ṛgvedic Śacīs represent 'Divine Powers' as the deified nature functions of male gods, forming an essential element in the constitution of the latter's personalities, the Gnās are distinctly separate principles of 'female energy'

acting in association with their ' male counterparts.' The fundamental idea underlying the conception of the Gnā type of female divinities such as Dhishaṇā, Bhāratī, Sarasvatī, etc., is, as Mr. Johansson rightly points out, generative and vegetative power (Śakti). With the Ṛgvedic Gnā we find that the tendency to unify the various functions or operations of gods under a distinct type of ' female principle ' representing the productive energies of generation and fertility, corresponding to male 'nature-powers' generically termed Purusha, is becoming more marked and well-defined. The introduction of Gnā, therefore, enables the Vedic seers to conceive 'nature-powers under the two types of the ' Divine Male' and the 'Divine Female' for creative operation, much in the same manner as the later post-Vedic schools regarded Śiva as needing a female counterpart or a Consort Śakti, or the ' male God ' Vishṇu requiring Lakshmī, for the purpose of creating the world of beings. Here certainly we find the earliest trace of the tendency, so characteristic of the latter-day Śaiva and Vaishṇava thinkers, to seize upon the active nature of the Highest Godhead, conceived as a 'Supremely Conscious Principle' of female sex, and to place her by his side in a relation of reflex-identity. This fact of the 'wifely relation' of Gnās with the Vedic gods for the express purpose of promoting generation is brought out in two ways : first, by the repeated

use of the significant expression 'Sajoshā' or 'close-knit' with Gnābhiḥ in the instrumental plural, and second, by their special association with Tvashṭṛ, the 'Omniform vivifier.' As to the reason for their frequent mention with Tvashṭṛ Prof. Macdonell suggests a plausible explanation. "Probably," he says, "because of his creative agency in the womb, Tvashṭṛ is chiefly mentioned with the 'Celestial Females' (Gnās, Janayaḥ) or the 'wives of the gods,' who are his most frequent attendants" (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 117). Mr. K. F. Johansson in his interesting book "*Über die Altindischen Göttin Dhishaṇā und Verwandtes*" seems to maintain the view that all such female goddesses of the Ṛgveda as Sarasvatī, Vāk, Hotrā, Bhāratī, Dhishaṇā, etc., who occupy a subordinate place in the Vedic pantheon, originally belonged to this common type of Gnās, signifying fertility and opulence, and did not enjoy the privilege of any specialised function. Then, after a time, Dhishaṇā, Sarasvatī, etc., and particularly the goddesses with the feminine affix '*ānī*,' etc., *e.g.*, Agnāyī, Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī, were gradually distinguished and came to be conceived of as the specialised forms of Gnās or 'Devānāṃ Patnīs.' He has worked out this theory with great ingenuity, especially with regard to Dhishaṇā, one of the most prominent female deities of Gnā type. Though this theory may be open to criticism by competent Vedic scholars,

there is no doubt that he throws a new light on the character and significance of the Vedic Gnās; enabling us to understand better the importance of these female divinities of the Vedas, who have hitherto received but very little attention from eminent Vedic scholars. Prof. Macdonell, for instance, in his *Vedic Mythology* says:—"Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position in Vedic belief and worship. They hardly play any part as rulers of the world." Later on, he says:—"Goddesses as wives of the great gods similarly play an insignificant part in the Veda. They are altogether without any independent character, simply representing the spouses whom such gods as Indra must have had. Hardly anything about them is mentioned but their names, which are simply formed from those of the gods with the feminine affix—'ānī.' Thus Indrāṇī is simply wife of Indra, Varuṇānī and Agnāyī also occur in the ṚV. but rarely." Be this as it may, Gnā in the plural is mentioned not less than three times also in the Atharva Veda (AV. VII. 51, 2; XX. 35, 8; XIX. 10, 6). Here, too, Gnās are invoked as goddesses who grant refuge, wealth and offspring, and also help in the winning of spoil. The special point to be noticed here is that Gnās are invoked along with the goddess Sunṛtā, perhaps a deification of 'pleasantness,' but identified by Sāyaṇa with Sarasvatī, the 'Goddess of Truthful Speech' (*cf.* Sāyaṇa on ṚV. X. 141, 2

"Sunṛtā priyasatyavāgrūpā devī devanaśīlā Sarasvatī, etc.").

In the Brāhmaṇas the term Gnās does not seem to occur so frequently as in the Vedic hymns. But as 'wives of the gods' they have an established place assigned to them in such ritualistic cults as the "Aśvamedha," the "Patnī-saṃyāj," and the like, which were performed to call forth generative power, especially in the sense of the restoration of the power of vegetative fertility. In some of these fertility-cults, such as Pātnīvatagraha and the Patnī-saṃyāj in the 'New and Full-moon Sacrifice' Gnās are specially connected with Agni and Tvashṭṛ, who are typically representative of the 'male power' of generation. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III. 37) Gnās as the 'wives of the gods' are celebrated first along with Agni Gārhapatya in Agnimāruta-śastra (III Pañcika) of the Soma sacrifice for the propagation of cattle and offspring. The Brāhmaṇa runs as follows :— "The wives of the gods he should celebrate first. Agni Gārhapatya places seed in the wives; veril thus in these wives with Agni Gārhapatya open he places seed for propagation. He is propaga with offspring and cattle who knows thus" (Keith's translation in the Harvard Oriental S Vol. 25). Again in the Kaushītaki Brāhma Gnās are expressly styled 'controllers of ' in connection with the Patnī-saṃyāj in th and Full-moon Offerings." This F 5).

assigns to the Gnās the function of conferring union and serving for generation. Here in addition to Agni Gārhapatya Tvashṭṛ and Soma are introduced as 'male energies' of fertilization. We give below Dr. Keith's translation of the passage :—

"In that they perform in the Gārhapatya the sacrifice to the wives with (the gods), the wives share the Gārhapatya, the sacrificer the Āhavanīya; therefore they perform the sacrifices for the wives with the gods in the Gārhapatya. They are four in number; up to four, are pairing, union, propagation; (they serve) for generation. They are performed inaudibly; the sacrifices to the wives (with the gods) are a pouring of seeds; inaudibly is seed poured; they are appropriate;......He sacrifices to Soma, Tvashṭṛ, the wives of the gods; and Agni, lord of the house; these deities are the controllers of unions; them here he delights; they here being delighted confer unions. To Soma he first sacrifices, thus he pours seeds; to Tvashṭar second, Tvashṭar transmutes the seed that is ured; then to the wives, for these are joint sacri-s for the wives; in that he sacrifices last to Agni, of the house, the wives are those of him that s the sacrifice well performed; therefore he es to him at the end...... ...In that he causes to sit on the grass bundle and the grass s male and the wife female, verily thus he ion upon women; therefore the wife puts

between her thighs blades of the grass bundle" (III. 8, page 364).

Though there is much in the Brāhmaṇas about the Gnās playing an important part in rituals of sympathetic magic, *e.g.*, in the form of Aditi representing the earth, or the queen in the Aśvamedha symbolizing the female counterpart of Varuṇa represented by the horse, it is well worth noting that the Brāhmaṇas are more inclined to take the word in a narrower sense. They employ the term to mean the Gāyatrī and such other Vedic metres. This probably indicates that the priestly authors of the Brāhmaṇas are on the way to bring all the different forms of Gnā divinities under the single head of Vāk, who is regarded as the most typical representative of the Gnā type. The reasons for this seems to be that in the Brāhmaṇas, since greater importance was attached to the actual performance of sacrifices, a good deal of attention was naturally given to the accurate recitation of the Mantras composed in various metres. The idea of the Mantras exercising a mystic power over the gods and natural phenomena also came to be more firmly established in the minds of their composers. Thus in their minds Gnā no longer definitely signified, as it did originally, a type of '*Divine Females*' in a general sense but, through ider tification with metres, came to be more close [illegible] associated with Vāk. The Śatapatha Br. [illegible] 5, 4, 7 identifies Gnā with metres by [illegible] 5).

of which men go to the celestial world. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa I. 8, 9 mentions Gnās as females, but ascribes to them the function of cutting up in pieces the sacrificial cloth after it is woven. Taittirīya V. 1, 7, 2 offers a similar explanation as "Chandāṃsi vai Gnāḥ" and identifies the metres with 'the wives of the gods.' The point to be noticed in this Brāhmaṇa passage is that the term is mentioned along with Varutrī and Dhishaṇā, of whom the latter is explained as identical with Vidyā or a certain knowledge. This means that Dhishaṇā is already assuming in the Brāhmaṇas an abstract character. To understand the special significance which underlies this further step which the Ṛshis have taken in bringing the Gnās through the metres (Chandāṃsi) into a closer relationship with Vāk, who henceforth usurps their place, it is necessary to consider carefully the fundamental conception of '*metres*' as embodied in the Brāhmaṇas. To the authors of the Brāhmaṇas Gāyatrī, Trishṭubh, Jagatī and such other Vedic metres were not mere mechanical arrangement of syllables (Padas) but represented '*living creative forces.*' They are regarded in these treatises as having a certain potency in them by virtue of which they yield the secret power of Yajña, which nables the gods to defeat the Asuras and ιin supremacy over them. This is affirmed the following passage of the Taittirīya ·hitā :—

"Prajāpatir devāsurān asṛjata tadanu Yajño 'asṛjyata Yajñaṃ chandāṃsi te vishvañco vyakrāman so'surān anu yajño'pākrāmad yajñaṃ chandāṃsi te devā amanyantāmī idam abhūvan yad vayaṃ sma iti te Prajāpatim upādhāvan so'bravīt Prajāpatiśchandasāṃ vīryaṃ ādāya tad vaḥ pradāsyāmīti sa chandasāṃ vīryam ādāya tad ebhyaḥ prāyacchat tad anu chandāṃsi apākrāman chandāṃsi yajñaḥ tato devā abhavan parā'surāḥ, etc."

Later on the same work explains Gāyatrī as "*Tejas*" or power, Trishṭubh *as the specific energies of sense organs,* and Anushṭubh as the *potent principle of Yajña* (*cf.* "Gāyatryā parilikhati, tejo vai Gāyatrī tejasaivainaṃ parigṛhṇāti trishṭubhā parilikhati indriyaṃ vai Trishṭuv indrieṇaivam enam parigṛhṇāti Anushṭubhā parilikhati Anushṭup sarvāṇi chandāṃsi......tejo vai Gāyatrī yajno'nushṭubh indriyaṃ trishṭup tejasā caiva indriyeṇa ca ubhayato yajñaṃ parigṛhṇāti" (Taitt. V. 1, 3, Part V, VI, Bibliotheca Indica edition). Often in such Brāhmaṇas as Pañcaviṃśa and Śatapatha we find that the metres, especially the Gāyatrī, are said to have the power of *carrying the* (*fruit of*) *sacrifice to the gods* (Śat. Br. I. 3, 4, 6, Weber's edition). Gāyatrī is Tejas and has "Vīrya" because she is regarded as the special metre of Agni, who is produced with her from Prajāpati's mouth (Śat. Br. II. 3, 5, 4). She represents the 'life-energy' (Prāṇa) because she stimulates and maintains 'vital breath' in the body of the yajamāna (Śat. Br. I. 3, 5, 15).

Śat. I. 7, 3, 23-25 describes how by the eight-, eleven- and twelve-syllabled metres, Gāyatrī, Trishṭubh and Jagatī, the gods can 'go aloft' to heaven (Diva ṃ upotkrāmati). In the contest between the gods and the Asuras Gāyatrī withdrew into herself the force (Ojo), vigour (Balaṃ), energy (Vīryaṃ), progeniture (Prajāṃ), etc., and stood apart (Taitt. S. II. 4, 3, 1). Through the potency (Vīrya) of the Anushṭubh metre acting as Vajra the gods saw and pierced "Night" under the control of the Asuras (Tāṇḍya IX. 1, 1). From these Brāhmaṇa passages and many others (*cf.* also Taitt. S. I. 5, 8, 3; *ibid,* V. 3, 8, 2; VI, 3, 3; Ait. I. 1, 5-6; I. 5, 2; Kaushītaki III. 5; VII. 10; X. 6; XI. 2) it can be easily seen that the idea of *Śakti or 'Tejas,' 'Vīryam' 'Varshman,' as it is termed in the Brāhmaṇas, lies at the very core of the Brāhmaṇa-conception of Vedic metres.* Now, in the Ṛgveda Vāk is described as a "Cow," the members of whose body are constituted by the metres of different number of syllables (Pada). This verse runs as follows :—

"Gaurī mimāya salilāni takshatī Ekapadī dvipadī sā catushpadī Ashṭāpadī navapadī bubhūvushī Tasyām samudrā adhi viksharanti."

Thus the Ṛshi's mind early sought to establish an essential connection of Vāk with the Vedic metres. This happens not only in the Ṛgveda but also in the later Atharva Veda. In the Atharva VIII. 10, 12-13, Vāk, under the name of Virāj, is conceived as a 'Cow' whose well-beloved calf is Indra and the rope

binding her to the tether is the Gāyatrī. Why Gāyatrī is mentioned specially as the rope can be easily seen from the fact that it is by the means of metres or particular arrangements of syllables (Padasaṃsthāna) that we can reduce speech to a systematic order. This process of connecting Vāk with metres attains its final stage in the Brāhmaṇas when they actually maintain that the "three-fold Science" with all the Mantras in various metres is the 'thousand-fold progeny of Vāk.' This fact the Brāhmaṇas affirm in another way, *viz.*, by repeatedly identifying Vāk severally with each of the well-known Vedic metres (*cf.* Taitt. I. 7, 5; Taitt. S. V, 1, 9. 1: Tāṇḍya V. 7, 1).

This idea of Vāk as the Mantra-mother giving birth to her three-fold progeny of Ṛk, Sāman and Yajus is one of great importance. Already in the Ṛgveda X. 125, we find that the Ṛshis are beginning to conceive Vāk in a philosophical way as '*the active power of Brahman proceeding from him.*' In verses 3 and 8 of this Sūkta she is regarded as 'Speech' in the feminine form. This hymn is the earliest document of the personification of speech as '*a productive principle of energy.*' It also occurs in the Atharva Veda in almost the same language. It is therefore necessary to analyse the verses of this significant Sūkta and observe what characteristic features and functions are herein attributed to Vāk. Verses 1 and 2 ascribe to her the specific function of supporting

the gods such as the Rudras, the Vasus, the Ādityas, the Viśvedevas, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, Pūshan, Bhaga, Tvashṭṛ and the two Aśvins. This clearly brings out the point that she is conceived as a sort of '*Supreme Female Energy*' sustaining and stimulating the activities of gods in carrying out their respective functions. This is clearly brought out by the 2nd verse which runs as follows:— "I support the foe-destroying Soma, Tvashṭṛ, Pūshan and Bhaga." Verse 6 describes her as the '*martial spirit*' of Rudra, who derives from her his power of bending the bow and slaying the destructive enemies of Brāhmaṇas. In verse 3 she is given the significant epithet of "the Sovereign Queen." The same verse describes her as 'cognizant of Brahman, the Supreme Being abiding in manifold conditions and entering into numerous forms.' Verse 4 makes it absolutely clear that she is the '*one great sustaining principle*' of life and activities of earthly creatures. This Ṛk runs as follows:—"He who eats food (eats) through me; he who sees, who breathes, who hears what is spoken, does so through me; those who are ignorant of me perish; hear thou who hast hearing, I tell thee that which is deserving of belief." Verses 5, 6, 7 and 8 are most significant. In these verses the functions of 'rendering her devotee formidable making him Brahmin, a Ṛshi or a sage through her supreme will' and '*pervading all things as a subtle ubiquitous principle of*

energy,' like the wind, giving form to all created worlds, are attributed to her.

The last verse describes her as being 'so vast in greatness that she is beyond the heaven and this earth.' According to verse 7 her birth-place is in the midst of the waters, whence she spreads through all things, and touches this heaven with her body.' According to Dr. Weber 'the waters' here represent *the chaotic primordial principle, the "Urmaterie" in which all things that are soon to develop lie in an undifferentiated condition.* As such she is the first emanation from the Purusha, the Supreme Male principle. (*Cf. Indische Studien*, Neunter Band, article "Vāk und Logos.") It is interesting to note that even in this pseudo-philosophical hymn belonging to the latest Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda when the Ṛshis were beginning to speculate on such abstract deities as Purusha, Hiraṇyagarbha, etc., Vāk still retains her function of bestowing wealth and protection originally belonging to her as a goddess of Gnā type. But here the individual characters of the various Gnā divinities seem to have merged into her. Henceforth, she emerges as the sole principle of creative energy. Soon after in the Brāhmaṇas we find that she actually takes her place by the side of Prajāpati, the Father of Creation as his Śakti. It is in fact nothing but this Vedic idea of Vāk giving birth to the Mantras as her progeny that worked under the Āgamic influence of the early

Tantras and finally gave rise, in the circle of Trika philosophers, to the idea of Mātṛkā Śakti, the Mantra-mother, or Parā Vāk or the Supreme Logos. There can be little doubt that this Sūkta on Vāk represents an attempt on the part of the Ṛshis to abandon the older pluralistic conception of phenomena, so characteristic of their speculations in the earlier books, and to express the idea of the fundamental unity of the world. On this point of the Vedic significance of Vāk Mr. Wallis rightly observes :—" Vāk, speech, is celebrated alone in two whole hymns (of the ṚV.), X. 71 and 125, of which the former shows that the primary application of the name was to the voice of the hymn, the means of communication between heaven and earth at the sacrifice. The other hymn illustrates the constant assimilation of the varied phenomena of nature to the sacrifice ; all that has a voice in nature, the thunder of the storm, the re-awakening of life at dawn, with songs of rejoicing over the new birth of the world, are embodied in this Vāk in the same way as it is said of Bṛhaspati that he embraces all things that are. It is another expression for that idea of the unity of the world which we have seen crowning the mystical speculations of all the more abstract hymns of the collection" (*Cosmology of the Ṛgveda*, p. 85). It is beyond doubt that in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda, we find a clear indication of the fact that the thoughts of the Ṛshis are progressing

towards abstract conceptions of deities enabling them to advance towards the idea of one 'Sovereign Divinity.' Thus on the one hand we find the Ṛshis attempting to unify the notions of 'male gods' into one Supreme Deity as Prajāpati or Viśvakarman. On the other hand, the same process of unification goes on with the result that the particular female goddesses—Varutrī, Dhishaṇā, Sarasvatī, etc., are all unified under a corresponding '*Supreme Female Deity, Vāk.* Thus the idea begins to arise that the universe came into being, not from particular gods such as Agni, Indra, etc., but from a Demiurge Brahmā or Prajāpati (ṚV. X. 121, 10) by his sacrificial power by which he sacrificed himself. "Prajāpati," as Dr. Muir rightly observes, "is the result of one of those efforts of the Indian Intellect to conceive and express the idea of deity in the abstract, as the '*Great First Cause*' of all things" (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 393). But in the Ṛgveda Prajāpati is not actually associated with Vāk for creative purposes. She is certainly regarded as a 'productive principle' under the conception of a 'Cow' who yields nourishment and sustenance (ṚV. VIII. 89, 10). ṚV. X. 114, 8-9 suggest her connection with *prayer* and emphatically affirms that 'Vāk spreadeth forth as far as Prayer extendeth.' ṚV. I. 164, 42 declares that the 'seas of water descend from her in streams whereby the world's four regions have their being and that from her flows the

imperishable flood whence the universe hath life.' But thus far goes the Ṛgveda and no further. The Atharva Veda, however, vaguely suggests the wifely relation of Vāk with Prajāpati who is styled Parameshṭḥī. Thus in A. V. XIX. 9, 3 Vāk is given the significant epithet "Devī Parameshṭḥinī." (*Cf.* "Iyaṃ yā parameshṭḥinī Vāk devī brahmaśaṃsitā.") It is not until we come to the period of the Brāhmaṇas that we find her position as the Śakti of Father Prajāpati definitely established. In the Brāhmaṇas she unites with Prajāpati as his wife and brings forth gods and universe. Here as "Suparṇī" she becomes the mother of Vedic metres and serves as the source of all living things. Thus in the Brāhmaṇas the relation of Prajāpati to Vāk is becoming a hieratic symbol of that of the Absolute to Logos. But in these treatises Prajāpati is not equal to the Absolute, Brahman (neuter), but is an emanation from the Absolute. To understand this further step in the process of development of Vāk-śakti from a '*simple goddess of the Gnā type*' to the '*Supreme Wifely Śakti of Prajāpati,*' it is necessary to consider more carefully her character as depicted in certain passages of the Brāhmaṇas.

Śatapatha VI. 1, 9 describes how Prajāpati created the primeval waters out of Vāk. This Brāhmaṇa runs as follows:—" He (Prajāpati) created the waters out of Vāk (Speech, that is) the

world ; for speech belonged to it ; that was created (set free). It pervaded every thing here ; and because it pervaded (āp) whatsoever there was here, therefore, (it is called) water (āpaḥ)." Pañcaviṃśa VI.1-3 affirms more definitely that Vāk was emitted from Prajāpati as his 'other self' and through her he created the Rathantara and Bṛhat sāmans. "Prajāpati desired—'I will be many and procreate myself.' He silently meditated in his mind. Whatever was in his mind became big. He reflected 'this is my womb' (*i.e.*, the inner essence) which is within me. This I will create by means of Vāk. He emitted Vāk and she entered the Rathantara. Thereafter was born the Bṛhat (sāman)." Later on (X.2,1) this Brāhmaṇa describes how Vāk took out the 'Light' (Jyotiḥ) from Prajāpati when he was exhausted after begetting creatures. Whereupon being interrogated by him she replied that she was but his 'Own self' (Svaiva te vāg ity abravīt). Pañcaviṃśa XX.14,2 leaves no doubt as to the fact that Vāk is the *companion-principle of Prajāpati in the matter of creation*. "Prajāpati vā idam eka āsīt, tasya vāg eva svam āsīt, vāg dvitīyā—sa aikshata imām eva vācaṃ visṛijā iyaṃ vā idaṃ sarvaṃ vibhavanty eshyatīti, sa vācaṃ vyasṛjata sedaṃ sarvaṃ vibhavanty ait, etc."

Kāṭhaka XII. 5 (and 27, 1) make it absolutely clear that Vāk is the wife of Brahmā Prajāpati, who couples with her and creates all beings.

"Prajāpatir vā idam āsīt, tasya vāg dvitīyāsīt, tāṃ mithunaṃ samabhavat, sā garbham adhatta, sā-'smād apākrāmat, semā prajā asṛjata, sā Prajāpatim eva punaḥ prāviśat." The epithet "Vācaspatiṃ" which appears in V.S. IX.1 and Śatapatha V. I. 1, 16 directly as the name of Prajāpati proves this *wifely relation of Vāk* beyond doubt. Aitareya X.1 describes Vāk as the Nivid of twelve syllables, which came out of Prajāpati while the latter was practising austerity and through whom Prajāpati created all beings. Taitt. Br. II. 1, 2 narrates the story that Prajāpati was doubting whether he should perform 'homa,' by the 'ghee' produced from his sweat. Vāk in her invisible form told him to perform the homa. When she was questioned as to her identity she replied that she is but the self of Prajāpati. Thereupon Prajāpati performed the homa by uttering "Svāhā" and thus was born the "Svāhākāra." Often in the Brāhmaṇas we find that Vāk disappears from the gods, and the latter, unable to perform Yajña without her, as she represents the wisdom of speech at sacrifices, have to make a regular search after her (*cf.* Pañcaviṃśa VI. 5, 10).

It must not, however, be forgotten that Vāk in the Brāhmaṇas does not merely represent the outward expression of 'uttered speech,' but also signifies the inner aspect of *subjective thought processes* which are intimately connected with language (expressed). It is for this reason that Śatapatha,

Tāṇḍya and such other Brāhmaṇas describe Vāk as 'Upholden by the mind' or the 'Yoke fellow' of mind. There can be little doubt that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas fully grasped the fact that a certain mental factor is invariably involved in an intelligible form of speech. It is this fact that led them to affirm that Speech is upheld by the Mind, because the Mind goes before Speech (and prompts her), 'speak thus, say not this.' So well indeed did they perceive the relation between Vāk and Manas that in the Śatapatha they actually make a statement that 'were it not for the Mind, Speech would talk incoherently' (Sat. Br. 2, 4, 11). It is also interesting to note that the authors o' the Brāhmaṇas were no less quick to realise that Mind, meaning simply the suppressed form of thought activity, without Vāk, signifying an active expression of 'inner language' in vocable, le' is not at all sufficient for understanding
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intended to be conveyed in these words when Prajāpati, the 'male principle' representing productiveness (Śat. V. I. 3, 9, 10), is identified with Manas and associated with Vāk (Taitt. Sam. II. 5, 11 ; Kaushītaki XXVI. 3). Aitareya VI. 5 declares that Vāk is impelled by the Manas when she speaks, and that if Vāk utters speech without the guidance of mind that speech becomes 'unsanctified' (Asūryā) and 'unattended by the gods' (A-devajushṭā). Possibly it is this idea of the intimate relationship of Vāk with Manas (the latter being the guiding principle) that naturally led the Ṛshis in the Brāhmaṇas to identify Manas with Prajāpati (*cf.* Taitt. Sam. II. 5, 11 ; Sāmavidh. I. 1, 4), whose inseparable connection with Vāk as her husband becomes more explicit only when suggested by analogy of the interdependence of Mind and ... commonly perceived in the phenomena ... if we consider the relevant ... this point of the nature ... anas it becomes perfectly ... rāhmaṇas is not only a ... herent external speech' ... *Creative Speech energy'* ... *jective and objective*

... k is Sarasvatī, who ... he Gnā type. In ... Sarasvatī is often

invoked with the sister-goddesses Ilā and Bhāratī, forming a triad (ṚV. I. 142, 9 ; I. 188, 8 ; II. 1, 11 ; II. 3, 8 ; III. 4, 8, etc.). In the Ṛgveda she figures generally as a river-goddess, the deification of the sacred river Sarasvatī, on whose banks several Aryan tribes dwelt and performed their sacrifices. ṚV. VII. 96, 2 mentions that the tribe of Pūrus lived on the grassy banks of Sarasvatī, who is invoked in the hymn for protection and bounty. That Sarasvatī in the Ṛgvedic age did not assume the definite character of a '*goddess presiding over the wisdom of speech*' as in later times, but simply represented the divinity of the river of that name, is apparent from several hymns of even such l books of the Ṛgveda as the 7th and 10th ḍalas. ṚV. VII. 36, 6 describes her roaring,' 'Mother of floods,' and 'with fair streams f volume of their water.' her with the waters. X. (her along with severa Sindhu, Sarayū, Gaṅ Sarasvatī from a river-g fied with Vāk in th became the pre-emin Wisdom of Speec problem. The rea ment of the conce abstract Goddess

probably, in her connection with 'prayer' and the 'sacrificial performances' on her banks. For even in the earlier portion of the Ṛgveda we find that suggestions of her connection with 'prayer' and 'sacrifices' are not absolutely wanting. ṚV. II. 3, 8 describes her as the Goddess who 'perfects the devotion' of her worshippers. ṚV. VII. 35, 11 describes her as accompanied 'with Holy Thoughts,' which evidently mean devotions or prayers. In IX. 81, 4 she is spoken of as 'Suyāmā' which possibly means 'one who is easily led by prayer.' X. 17, 7 says that 'the pious worship Sarasvatī while the sacrifice proceedeth.' X. 30, 12 connects
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is celebrated in a few separate passages. Allusion is made in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas ...to sacrifices being performed on the banks of this river and of the adjoining Dṛshadvatī, and the Sarasvatī in particular seems to have been associated with the reputation for sanctity, which, according to the well-known passage in the Institutes of Manu, was ascribed to the whole region, called Brahmāvarta. The Sarasvatī thus appears to the early Indians what the Ganges (only twice mentioned in the ṚV.) became to their descendants ...When once the river acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters, and that her direction and blessing [illegible] invoked as essential to their proper p[illegible]nd success. The connection into wh[illegible]hus brought with sacred rites may ha[illegible]e further step of imagining her to hav[illegible]fluence on the composition of the hymns wh[illegible]rmed so important a part of the proceedings, a[illegible] of identifying her with Vāk, the Goddess of Speech" (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 338). Professor Macdonell suggests that V. S. 19, 22 marks the transition from her older conception of a river-goddess to the later Brāhmaṇa conception of a 'goddess of speech.' "The transition," he says, "from the older conception of Sarasvatī to the later conception (as the goddess of the wisdom of

speech) is, perhaps, to be found in passages like V.S. XIX.12 which states (the myth) that when the gods celebrated a healing sacrifice, the Aśvins as physicians and Sarasvatī through speech (vācā) communicated vigour to Indra" (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 87).

Frequently in the Taittirīya Sarasvatī is associated with the Aśvins, the "Divine Physicians," in respect of her healing function. Taitt. II. 6, 4 states that she carries out the function of creating the shape of the body (possibly of Indra) by bringing together the bones, marrow, flesh, etc., in their proper places. She also creates the 'internal organ' of Manas in collaboration with the Aśvins. She produces the blood just as a weaver weaves a piece of cloth [illegible]m. Even the Vyāna-Vāyu which perva[illegible] from head to foot (*cf.* "Vyāno sar[illegible] is said to be generated through her [illegible]aitt. II. 6, p. 620, Ānandāśram ed[illegible]aitt. II. 6, 4 ascribes to her the function [illegible]ulating and sustaining the growth of the f[illegible] in the womb. Taitt. II. 6, 11 and 12 speak [illegible] her as a physician ("Śūsha Sarasvatī bhishak"). Thus it seems that these passages of the Brāhmaṇas which explicitly describes her as having a certain agency in the general formation of the body and especially in that of the "Garbha" do really indicate a transition in her conception. No doubt, in the Ṛgveda Sarasvatī is intended to be connected with a certain intellectual

activity when she is characterised by such epithets as "*Dhītibhiḥ saha,*" "*Dhīnām avitrī,*" etc. But in the Ṛgveda her character of a river-goddess is never completely separated from her abstract intellectual nature. These two characters, as a matter of fact, run side by side. It is not until we come to the Brāhmaṇas that we find the natural conception of a river-divinity almost disappearing and giving place to the other abstract notion of a "goddess of speech stimulating the holy thoughts (sumatīnām codayitrī). Under the influence of this new conception she naturally tended to become identified in the Brāhmaṇas with Vāk, especially as the 'Goddess of Truthful Speech.' Hence, we find in the Taittirīya that the epithet "Satyavāk" is repeatedly used to denote her (Taitt. I. 8, 19). Another interesting feature of Sarasvatī consists in her possible connection, on etymological grounds, with 'Saras' or a lake. In this respect she may be compared with the Greek "Muses," μουσμ probably 'montia,' "mountain-lady," as she is "Sarasvatī" or the "Lady of the Lake."

Equally interesting is the epithet "Ambitamā" or the '*most motherly*' applied to Sarasvatī in the Ṛgveda II. 41, 16. This 'motherly' conception brings her in close connection with the other "mother-goddesses" of the Ṛgveda such as Aditi, Puraṃdhi, etc. Two reasons might possibly have suggested the attribution of a 'motherly' character to her, *viz.,* (1) because she was worshipped

by the tribes along the river as the spirit of fertility promoting by her abundant water the growth of crops cultivated on her banks, and (2) because she nourished by her "*full swelling volume of waters*" the smaller streams which issued from her, just as a mother feeds her suckling babes. Thus it is quite likely that this analogy of a parent stream contributing 'watery' nourishment to its offshoots of rivulets suggested in the minds of the Ṛshis the idea of motherly nature, though, perhaps originally derived from the animal world. Like Sarasvatī, the Sindhu is also described as "Mātṛtamā" in ṚV. III. 33, 3. 'Mātṛtamā nadyo' occurs also in ṚV. I. 158, 5. It is difficult to say what exactly led the Ṛshis to form the conception of the motherly attribute, which certainly plays a great part in the post-Vedic worship, to many of the female goddesses of the Ṛgveda. But from the way in which several female divinities such as Aditi (T.B. III. 7, 5, 10 ; Āp. Śr. II. 5, 9), Puraṃdhi (*cf.* Pischel-Geldner's *Vedische Studien*, Erster Band, p. 202 ff., article on Puraṃdhi as a "Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin"), Indrāṇī (as Dhenā), etc., besides Sarasvatī, are described as 'mother-goddesses,' it can be easily seen that this 'motherly conception,' a fundamental idea behind the notion of such goddesses as Umā, Durgā, Pārvatī, Lakshmī, etc., is, undoubtedly, of Vedic origin. Mr. K. F. Johansson is perhaps right when he says :— "The mytho-religious conception of

mother, sister, and wife generally sprang out of the 'motherly-wifely' conception and frequently overlaps it (Über Die Altindischen Göttin Dhiṣaṇā und Verwandtes, p. 90). There is, of course, no doubt, that the post-Vedic conceptions of the 'mother-goddesses" such as Kālī, Durgā, Lakshmī and especially the guardian "Mothers" of South Indian villages, do not consist purely of this Vedic conception of 'Motherly nature' in the higher sense of fertility and protection.

Doubtless, the ideas of Indian Folk-religion exerted, as Ernst Arbman suggests, a great influence in moulding the notion of the 'motherly divinities' of the post-Vedic age, especially in their demonic nature (*cf.* Arbman's *Rudra*, Upsala). But to deny altogether any connection of these 'mother-goddesses,' as Umā, Durgā, Pārvatī, Lakshmī, etc., with *the old Vedic fertility-goddesses* such as Sarasvatī, Puraṃdhi, Aditi, etc., is, perhaps, equally unjustifiable. For it can be easily seen that much of the 'Maternal characteristics' of the goddesses is scattered throughout Vedic literature. Tryambaka, one of the Rudras (sons of Tvashṭṛ and Aditi) is associated with 3 Ambās, meaning wives or mothers, in the Traiyambaka homa. Tryambaka here indicates Rudra and Ambikā, perhaps originally his sister, is, in the ritual concerned, identified with Umā, Durgā, or Pārvatī, as Siva's consorts. In the rites of the Aśvamedha the 3 queens correspond

to the three 'mother-goddesses' with their ceremonies of sympathetic magic to the horse (*cf.* Johansson's book, pp. 90-91). Vāk, as we have seen, is described in the Brāhmaṇas as the '*mother' of the thousand-fold progeny'* of Vedic hymns. Now, in the later Purāṇas or in the Schools of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, Pārvatī or Lakshmī as the Śakti of Śiva or Vishṇu did not primarily signify any demonic nature. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, the most authoritative text of all the schools of Vaishṇavism, Lakshmī or Śrī is described as the '*Supreme Mother-goddess*' by such epithets as "Jaganmātā" (Vishnu P. VIII. 15, 28). In the 1st Aṃśa IX. 116 and 117 she is spoken of as the "Lotus-sprung Mother" (Jananīm abjasambhabāṃ) and is also identified with Sarasvatī. Lakshmī's motherly nature is further brought out in this Purāṇa by such beautifully expressive epithets as "Vedagarbhā," "Yajñagarbhā," "Sūryagarbhā," "Devagarbhā," "Daityagarbhā," (as Aditi and Diti)—all of which go to prove her motherly nature as the "*Great Cosmic Mother*" or Jagaddhātrī, in which aspect she is still worshipped in Bengal (Vishṇu P., Aṃśa V, ch. II., 7-12). In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (XXIII. 30-48) Sarasvatī as the Śakti of Vishṇu is similarly described as the "World-sustainer" (Jagaddhātrī) which signifies the same mother. The same Purāṇa (ch. LXXXIV. 1ff.) depicts Lakshmī as Ambikā in a motherly sense.

In such Pāñcarātra treatises as the celebrated Lakshmī Tantra Lakshmī is several times addressed by Śakra (Indra) as the "Supreme Mother" and explained as such, especially as the "Mantra-Mother" (*cf.* Lakshmī Tantra, VI. 3, 4 ; XXIII. 11 ; XXIX. 26, etc.). Pārvatī or Durgā, the Śakti of Śiva's Creative Will, according to Siva Purāṇa (Vāyavīya Saṃhitā, Uttara, V. 15) has the attribute of motherly nature indicated by the epithet "Prasavadharmiṇī." Even Kālī, who in the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra is explained as *the embodiment of the destructive energy of Time* (IVth Ullāsa, 30-34), is not altogether devoid of such gracious features as the 'removal of evils' and protection. The 13th Ullāsa, 242 and 243, invokes Pārvatī as the "great World-mother" who maintains all the worlds together with the gods in her womb. Numerous other passages can be adduced from the authoritative texts of the later Śaivas and Vaishṇavas to show that *the old Vedic ideas of generation and protection which were at the back of the Vedic conception of motherly character still played an important part in the formation of the post-Vedic conception of "motherhood" of goddesses*, though, perhaps, modified to a great extent, by the influence of popular forms of worship and religion. All that we wish to point out here is that in the attribution of motherhood to Sarasvatī we find one of the earliest attempts on the part of the Rshis to conceive the female divinities in a

motherly character which we find so well developed in the post-Vedic Śakti-cult in the Purāṇas, the Epics and the Tantras (both the Vāma and the Dakshiṇa paths).

When from the Brāhmaṇas we come to the Upanishads, we find that the mind of the Ṛshi is more occupied with the problem of *'one all-embracing principle'* Brahman who is immanent in every form of creation, than with the question of sacrifice and matters accessory to it. As the result of this transference of interest we find that the seers have almost given up discussing such topics as the performance of various rites with their prescriptive ceremonies, the application of different metres, and so forth, but have set themselves seriously to the task of grasping the fundamental unity of phenomena. Consequently, Vāk-śakti, who enjoyed a prominent rank by the side of the male Prajāpati in the Brāhmaṇas, has come to occupy a much inferior position in many of the principal Upanishads such as the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. In these works she is in fact subordinated to the Prāṇa-śakti, as can be seen from the common Upanishadic narrative of the quarrel amongst the different senses, which always ends in the establishment of the superiority of Prāṇa, or rather the 'Mukhya-Prāṇa.' In the Kaushītaki, for example, Prāṇa is explained as *Prajñā or self-consciousness, and Speech is described as one portion taken out of it, having the word as*

her object, placed outside (*cf*. Kaush. II. 1; III. 4, 5). The Upanishadic conception of Prāṇa-śakti we shall discuss later on in the chapter on Mātṛkā Śakti in the Kashmere school. Nevertheless, the Ṛshis of the Upanishads could not entirely break away from the earlier speculations of the Brāhmaṇas. Hence we find that such topics as "Om," "Udgītha," etc., which strictly do not come under their subject-matter, are frequently discussed in such Upanishads as the Chāndogya, the Kaṭha (I. 2, 15-17), the Taittirīya (I.5), the Maitrāyaṇīya (VI. 2, 4; 22-28), the Praśna (V. 2-7), etc. The whole of the Māṇḍukya is devoted to the discussion of 'Om-kāra.' Prajāpati (the Father of creation) who is a familiar figure in the Brāhmaṇas, still appears with his offspring the Devas and the Asuras in the same rôle in the earlier portions of the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The same old Brāhmaṇa conception of Prajāpati as the 'year comprising the months' or food (Annaṃ) lingers in the very first question of the Praśna in such statements as 'the year indeed is Prajāpati;' 'the month is Prajāpati;' food is Prajāpati,' etc. (I. 7-15).

Just as in the Brāhmaṇas Prajāpati creates all beings by practising penance or a *kind of coercive self-meditation* so also in the Praśna the celebrated saint Pippalāda in the reply to the question of Kabandhin Kātyāyana says:—" Prajāpati (the Lord of creatures) was desirous of creatures

(prajāḥ). He performed penance, and having performed penance, he produced a pair, matter (rayi) and spirit (prāṇa), thinking that they together should produce creatures for him in many ways" (Praśna I. 4). Similarly in the Maitrāyaṇīya (II. 6) we find that in the beginning Prajāpati, the Lord of creatures, stood alone, and then meditating on himself he created many creatures, into whom he entered in the form of vital airs that they should awake. In the Upanishads, however, Prajāpati does not usually create Vāk out of his self and then produce all creatures in union with her, as in the Brāhmaṇas, but sometimes brings forth the syllable "Om" together with the " Vyāhṛtis" or sacrificial interjections, which are explained philosophically not as a mere symbol of thought but as representing all kinds of speech and identical with the whole world of phenomena (Ch. Up. II. 23, 3-4 ; Bṛh. Up. I. 5,5).

In spite of the increasing importance of "Om" or " Praṇava" in the Upanishads a wonderful continuity of Brāhmaṇa speculation with regard to such topics as Vāk, Gāyatrī, etc., is clearly perceptible in these works of philosophical speculation. Thus the two ancient Brāhmaṇa conceptions, *viz.*, (1) the identification of Vāk with Ṛk and (2) that with the Gāyatrī metre, which we have considered above, seem to persist in the earlier portions of the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka in such statements as " Purushasya Vāg raso vāca

Ṛg rasaḥ," "Vāg eva Ṛk Prāṇaḥ Sāma," "Speech is Ṛk, and therefore when a man utters a Ṛk verse he neither breathes up nor down," etc. (Ch. Up. I. 1, 2; I. 1, 5 ; I. 3, 5). Ch. I. 37, describes Vāk as a cow capable of yielding the milk of speech to him who thus knowing meditates on those syllables of the name of Udgītha. This idea is nothing but the old Saṁhitā idea of Vāk as a *productive principle conceived in the character of a cow.* This ancient idea is more clearly expressed in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (V. 8, 1) in the following terms :—" Let him meditate on speech as a cow. Her four udders are the words Svāhā, Vashaṭ, Hanta and Svadhā. The bull of that cow is breath (Prāṇa), the calf the mind."

In the same Upanishad (I. 2, 4) the Brāhmaṇa identification of Manas with Prajāpati, who enters into Vāk for creative purpose, also finds its place. Chāndogya III. 12, 1, expresses the identity of Vāk and Gāyatrī which is so often mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. The continuation of the Brāhmaṇic notion of Vāk in the Upanishads will be better understood if we consider the following passages of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka :—

(1) In the beginning there was the self alone, one only. He desired, 'Let there be a wife for me that I may have offspring, and let there be wealth for me that I may offer sacrifices.' Verily this is the whole desire, and even wishing for more, he

would not find it...And so long as he does not obtain either of these things, he thinks ne is incomplete. Now its completeness his made up as follows) :—mind is his (self (husband); speech the wife ; breath the child; the eye all worldly wealth, ... the body (ātman) is his work, for with the body he works. This is the fivefold sacrifice, for fivefold is the animal, fivefold man, fivefold all this whatsoever. He who knows this obtains all this.'' (Bṛh. I. 4, 17.)

(2) ......Verily the self consists of it (*i.e.*, Prāṇa); that self consists of speech, mind and breath ......These are father, mother and child : the father is mind, the mother speech, the child breath. ......What is known has the form of Speech, for speech is known. Speech having become this protects man. ... ... Of that Speech (which is the food of Prajāpati) earth is the body, light the form, *viz.*, this fire. And so far as Speech extends, so far extends the earth, so far extends fire.'' (I. 5, 3-11.)

(3) In the beginning there was nothing to be perceived here whatsoever. By death (*i.e.*, Mṛtyu or Prajāpati) indeed all this was concealed,—by hunger ; for death is born of hunger......He desired, ' Let a second

body be born of me' and he (Death or Hunger) embraced Speech in his mind. Then the seed became the year. Before that time there was no year. ......He therefore brought forth by that Speech and by that body (the year) all whatsoever exists, the Ṛk, the Yajus, the Sāman, the metres, the sacrifices, men and animals." (Bṛh. I. 2, 1-5.)

If we consider these and similar other passages of the Upanishads it becomes clear that the old *Brāhmaṇa conception of the female Vāk bringing forth the creatures in union with the male Prajāpati* still lingers in the memory of the Ṛshis of the Upanishads, and finally culminated in the more developed conception, as in the Śvetāśvatara, of a '*Supreme Śakti belonging to God Himself, hidden in its own qualities*' (*cf.* "Devātmaśaktiṃ svaguṇair nigūḍhām"). If we leave out the Śvetāśvatara, we find that in the ten or twelve principal Upanishads the word Śakti is not directly mentioned, it is for this reason that the later writers on Śaivism or Vaishṇavism frequently quote texts from this Upanishad but seldom from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Muṇḍaka, etc., to prove the Śrauta origin of the doctrine of Śakti (Śakti-vāda). In the Trika school of Kashmere Puṇyānanda quotes several Śvetāśvatara verses in his commentary on Kāmakalāvilāsa (*cf.* commentary on ślokas 5, 7

and 20). Thus, for example, he quotes the text:—"Eko'varṇo bahudhā śaktiyogāt, etc.," in explaining Vimarśa Śakti, who, as we shall see later on, holds within herself all the phenomenal objects, both "*Śabdātmaka*" or ideal and "*Arthātmaka*" or real. Maheśvarānanda, the author of Mahārthamañjarī, tries to trace the origin of Jñāna Śakti, one of the tripartite Śaktis of the Lord Maheśvara, to the Upanishad text:—"Utainam gopā adṛśan utainam udahāryaḥ." He seeks to establish by this text the fact that the Jñāna Śakti as *the self-illuminating consciousness of egoity* is ingrained in the self-perception of all creatures from the animal of the lowest grade to the highest type of a self-conscious man (*cf*. sthūlo'ham sampanno'ham iti svātmasphuraṇam, commentary on śl. 4). He also tries to prove the existence of Vimarśa Śakti as the power of agenthood in all persons from Taittirīya II. 6: "*Asti Brahmeti ced veda santam enaṃ tato viduḥ*." The word "Sat" in the text he breaks up etymologically into two parts, *viz*. (1) the root 'As' meaning "Bhavanākhyakriyā and (2) the participial affix 'Śatṛ' implying Kartṛtva or agenthood. Now taking together the grammatical implications of these two parts he attempts to prove that the term Sat in the above text means "Kartṛtva Śakti" or the power by which an independent (Svatantraḥ) agent brings something into existence (*cf*. "Bhavanalakshaṇāyāḥ

kriyāyāḥ kartā"). This, according to him, practically signifies Vimarśa Śakti, the fundamental Śakti-principle of the Trika. Abhinavagupta, the most prolific writer on Trika philosophy, quotes Bṛhadāraṇyaka II. 5, 29 in his Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī (I.1,5) in support of the Trika doctrine that Vimarśa Śakti is the Prakāśa or the ever-illuminating principle of Paripūrṇāhaṃtā or 'Reflection of Complete Egoity' and as such can never be denied (*cf.* "Tannihnave hi kaḥ praśnaḥ kim uttarañ ca syād iti"). In his commentary on Parātriṃśikā Tantra (ślokas 3 and 4) he quotes Kaṭha II. 3 in support of his theory of Śakti. After Abhinava, Kshemarāja, another celebrated writer of the Trika school, quotes Kaṭha IV.1 in his commentary on Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya (sūtra 18) to explain the yogic process of turning the activities of the senses inward for the realisation of the true self. Jayaratha and Śivopādhyāya also attempt to trace the origin of Ānanda Śakti from such Upanishadic texts as "*Ānando Brahmeti vyajānāt* "*Raso vai saḥ, rasaṃ hyevāyaṃ labdhvā ānandībhavati,*" *etc.*

Similarly in the Bengal school of Vaishṇavism, maintaining the doctrine of Acintyabhedābheda relation of Śakti to the supreme Godhead Vishṇu, we find that Śvetāśvatara texts are almost invariably cited to trace the origin of the Śakti conception from Vedic literature. Thus, for

examaple, Jīva Gosvāmī, the most erudite and critical exponent of the school, devotes a long and highly polemical chapter on Śakti in his masterly work Sarvasaṃvādinī (*cf.* Bhāgavata-sandarbha with its Anuvyākhyā in Sarvasaṃvādinī, Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat edition, Calcutta). In this chapter he quotes several times from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya to prove that Jñāna is the Svarūpa-Śakti of Śrī-Bhagavān. But his favourite texts in support of Vishṇu's Divine Śakti, which he is never tired of quoting again and again, come from the Śvetāśvatara. Almost the same Śvetāśvatara texts on Śakti are quoted by such prominent Liṅgāyat writers as Śiva-yogī Reṇuka and Maritoṇṭadārya. Looking at many of these texts quoted from the principal Upanishads it seems that some of them have, perhaps, very little to do with the idea of Śakti as the "Supreme Creative Power," but are only so explained by the usual ingenuity of a commentator. But there is no doubt that these writers of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism were deeply influenced by the texts of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka the Chāndogya, the Kena, the Muṇḍaka, etc., many of which, at any rate, strongly suggest the idea of Śakti in the sense of "Divine Creative Power." It must however be admitted that in quoting from Śvetāśvatara, where we find the Śakti-idea expressed in unequivocal language, they do not twist the natural meaning of the texts.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that while in the Saṃhitas and the Brāhmaṇas the idea of Śakti signified generative power in its natural sense of "Copulation," the usual form of creation, in the Upanishads it tends to assume the philosophical form of "Īkshaṇa" or "Abhidhyāna," as it is termed in Manusmṛti meaning *a fiat of volition or a kind of 'ideal presentation of the world-to-be' in* the mind of the Supreme Being. Thus in almost every Upanishad (*cf.* Srashṭavyālocanātmakavyāpāraḥ) we find that the "Creative Brahman," the Purusha, the Akshara, or whatever he may be called, desires or puts forth this activity of Īkshaṇa 'I will be many and procreate myself (*cf.* "Bahu syāṃ prajāyeya"). Now the fundamental idea underlying this conception of Īkshaṇa is Śakti or the "Power of Creative Desire." This Īkshaṇa, as we shall see later on, is exactly the same as the Vimarśa Śakti of the Kashmere school implying "parāmarśa," which Abhinava explains as 'creative desire' (*cf.* "parāmarśo hi cikīrshārūpā Icchā ").

So far we have discussed the continuity of the early Brāhmaṇa speculations on Śakti in the Upanishads and have examined the Upanishadic texts which have been quoted and utilised by the later Śaiva and Vaishṇava writers in expounding their particular doctrines of Śakti. Thus having prepared the ground it will be easier for us to consider carefully the following

suggestive texts of the main Upanishads on the point :—

(1) Kena—III (Khaṇḍa) giving the significant story of the appearance of Umā Haimavatī before the gods who were priding themselves on their victory over the Asuras.

(2) Kaṭha—V.12,13 : (*a*) "There is one *ruler*, the self within all things, who *makes the one form manifold*. The wise who perceive, etc.

(*b*) There is one eternal thinker, thinking non-eternal thoughts who, *though one, fulfils the desire of many*. The wise, etc.

(*c*) VI. 2 and 8 : "*Beyond the Undeveloped* is the person, etc.

(3) Muṇḍaka—I (Muṇḍaka), I (Khaṇḍa) verses 8 and 9 :—(*a*) "*Tapasā cīyate Brahma* tato'nnam abhijāyate. Annāt prāṇomanaḥ satyaṃ lokāḥ cāmṛtam." (*b*) "Yaḥ *sarvajñaḥ* sarvavid yasya *Jñānamayaṃ tapaḥ, Tasmād etat Brahmanāmarūpam* annañ ca jāyate." Also I.1,1; II. 2,1.

(4) Taittī.—II (Vallī) V (Anuvāka) :— "Vijñānaṃ yajñaṃ *tanute, Karmāni* tanute'pi ca, Vijñānaṃ devāḥ sarve. Vijñānaṃ Brahma ced veda."

II.5 :—"He perceived that understanding (Vijñāna) was Brahman, for *from*

understanding these beings are born by understanding when born they live; into understanding they enter at their death."

(5) Chāndogya—III. 14, 4: " Yaḥ *sarva-karmā sarvakāmaḥ sarvagandhaḥ sarva-rasaḥ sarvam idam*, etc."

(6) Bṛhadāraṇyaka (I. 4, 1-5): (*a*) " Ekākī na ramate. Sa dvitīyam aicchat. Sa haitāvān āsa. Puṃstvaṃ strītvaṃ ca āpātayat. Patanāt patiḥ patnī ca. Sā gaur abhavat. Ṛshabhaḥ itaraḥ. Tābhyāṃ gāvaḥ, etc."

(*b*) III. 7 (the whole of it) which deals with the Antaryāmitva aspect of Brahman as the 'inner-controller' of all things.

One fact is quite evident from the texts mentioned above:—all the principal Upanishads agree in emphasising, more or less, the '*active nature*' of Brahman (*i.e.*, His Sakti). It is indeed true that they often speak of the Highest Brahman as a changeless being transcending all phenomena. But at the same time it cannot be definitely asserted from the texts only that the seers of the Upanishads regarded this Higher Brahman as devoid of Sakti or *potential capacity of projecting the world.* The Kaṭha text (*a*) clearly indicates the existence of Sakti when it says that the self, the ruler 'makes the one form manifold.' For

otherwise how can the eternal thinker, who is one, fulfil the desire of many (Kaṭha) (*b*) unless the Ṛshi presupposes the existence of some kind of Śakti in him? Then again the Kaṭha (*c*) plainly suggests the existence of the phenomenal world as the unmanifested Śakti when it assigns a subordinate place to the Undeveloped (Avyakta) in relation to the Purusha, almost in the same manner as the Trika maintains the existence of the world as a seed (undeveloped) in the hṛdaya or the inner self of Śiva (*cf.* "Tathā hṛdayabījasthaṃ jagad etac carācaraṃ").

The Muṇḍaka text (*a*) shows that Brahma swells by his 'brooding penance' in his Śakti-state, which reveals a striking resemblance to the Trika explanation of Śakti as "kiñcid-ucchūnatāpatti" of Śiva when he is about to create. The Muṇḍaka text (*b*) calls attention to Brahma's Śakti or creative effort which is his "Jñānamayaṃ tapaḥ" and from which proceed all enjoyable objects manifested by *nāma* and *rūpa*. This "Jñānamayaṃ tapaḥ" is certainly a clear hint at Jñāna-Śakti, which, later on, becomes one of the three primary Śaktis of Śiva in the Kashmere Trika school. Besides these, Muṇḍaka I. 1, 7 ; II. 1, 1 ff., also suggest the idea of Akshara Brahma's Śakti by describing creation as a process of 'projection' or 'emission' of the world illustrated by the examples of a spider sending forth his web and a blazing fire throwing off sparks. The

Chāndogya text given above points out the Śakti-nature of Brahma, as rightly urged by Jīva Goswāmī, by such significant expressions as "Sarvakarmā," Sarvakāmaḥ," etc. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka passage (*a*) leaves no doubt as to the issuing out of Śakti from the Purusha as his 'second' or female partner whom he embraces in various feminine forms and by whom he begets creatures. So clearly indicative of Śakti is this Śruti that Śrīkumāra, the author of Tātparyadīpikā, a commentary on Tattvaprakāśa, (a rare Āgamic work on the Śaiva System of Philosophy), carefully selects this text in support of the theory of Śiva's need of a Śakti-consort for the accomplishment of Paśu's enjoyment (Bhukti) and final emancipation (Mukti ; *cf*. Tattvaprakāśa, commentary on I. 3, Trivandrum edition). In the Kena, as mentioned above, Śakti appears before the gods in the form of a female figure, highly adorned, and is designated by the significant epithet "Haimavatī" or the "Daughter of Himavant." It is not until we come to the Śvetāśvatara that we find the Upanishadic conception of Śakti fully developed. For in this theistic Upanishad alone the absolute Brahman of the other Upanishads becomes really the "Personal God," *Īśvara, associated with his Śakti who is not an altogether separate principle but belongs to Him as His own.* The exact nature of the relation of Śakti to Parama Maheśvara is, for the first time,

laid down in this Upanishad in such precise terms as "Devātmaśakti," "Svaguṇair nigūḍhā," "Ruled by the Lord," etc. This view of the relation of Śakti to Śaktimān Īśvara was adopted, as we shall discuss in our chapters on Trika and Vīraśaivism, by all the later schools of Śaivism.

CHAPTER II

Śakti in the Trika School of Kashmere.

The Śaiva system of Kashmere, known specially as the Trikaśāsana in the ancient philosophical literature of India, upholds, as its name indicates, the existence of three ultimate principles, *viz.*, (1) Śiva, the Supreme all-doing, all-knowing, all-sustaining Being called Prakāśa, (2) Śakti, a personal entity of the nature of Perfect Egoity, and (3) Aṇu, the individual soul under the bondage of impurities of limitations. Of these three, the exponents of the Trika School have brought into greater prominence the idea of Śakti, the second Tattva, by a thorough and systematic analysis of the nature and development of its concept and significance in their particular branch of Indian religious thought. The meaning of this will, perhaps, be better understood, if, in the first instance, it is explained what precisely this school meant by their first principle Śiva, whom they admitted to be the Highest Being transcending all the processes of discursive thought. According to Mālinī-Vijayottara-tantra, a highly authoritative work of this school, this highest Being of pure consciousness,

Śiva, is the Supreme Entity. He is the all-doing, all-knowing, serene Lord—the all-pervading, indivisible and infinite.[1] He is called by various names as Parama Śiva, Parama Śiva Bhaṭṭāraka, Bhairava, and a host of other names. In Him remains His Śakti or Nature *in a sort of reflex relation of Self-Identity*. Then as he comes to possess the tendency of projecting Himself this Śakti evolves from Him in the form of Divine Creative Will[2] (Icchātvam). This statement of Mālinīvijaya, it seems, lays the first foundation of a definite conception of Śakti upon which the later writers have built a splendid superstructure of brilliant elaborate dissertations. For the Mālinīvijaya Vārttika goes on to explain that Śiva, who is never dissociated from His form of consciousness, has three Śaktis assuming the forms of the cogniser and the cognisable by virtue of His own power of freedom.[3] Thus it can be seen how Mālinīvijaya arrives at a very definite conception of Śakti in propounding the idea that Śakti is that 'power' of freely willing Nature of Śiva which is related to him in Self-Identity.

This conception of Śakti as Śiva's 'nature of perfect freedom' is further defined by Utpaladeva in his Īśvarapratyabhijñā as Vimarśarūpā, *i.e.*, as the vibration of Consciousness of real Egoity holding within itself and visualising the entire world of objects as 'this is.' Utpaladeva thus

draws our attention to the clearer and definite idea of Śakti as the '*unalienated conscious nature of Śiva with all its contents unmanifested.*'[4] This attempt of Utpala to define Śakti from the stand-point of its 'vimarśa character' helps us a great deal to grasp the value and importance of the truth that Śakti can never be conceived as a mere abstract principle devoid of all 'concrete content.'[5] It is from an appreciation of this position that Utpala further styles this vimarśarūpā Śakti as the Sāra, essence and Hṛdaya, the inmost core of the heart, as it were, of the Parameshṭhī, the Creative Lord.

On this question of the determination of Śakti the Śivasūtravārttika says that she is 'the power or capability of knowing and acting of the self-established Śiva.' Śakti is the *divine Nature which supplies the ground of Śiva's realisation of His own self.* It is, in other words, a sort of mirror in which the Supreme Being sees Himself and comes to know His real nature. The idea of Śakti being the ground of Śiva's consciousness of Egoity and as such nothing extraneous to Him, is very lucidly explained by Puṇyānanda in his Kāmakalāvilāsa [6] by the illustration of a king of handsome appearance who sees himself reflected in a mirror placed in front of him and knows that to be his own self

To this conception of Śakti as the free nature of Supreme Śiva in his creative tendency

Maheśvarānanda adds a further important element of 'Self-enjoyment' and so makes it more comprehensive. With perfect ease and simplicity of expression he describes the 'Sakti principle' as that slightly swelled up aspect of Śiva in which he possesses the tendency of visualising (īkshitum) maintaining (sthātum) and projecting the world while experiencing the most supreme felicity of joy which he feels by feasting, as it were, upon his own self (the triangular heart) sweetened by the honey of the spontaneous outburst of his inner content of joy.[7] In other words, Śakti is but the 'conscious nature of Śiva' when He has swelled up out of the fulness of the blissful state and set himself in spontaneous vibration towards the act of self-expression. Here in this conception of Śakti we come to a position where she is viewed as the nature of Śiva in a state of suspended animation of joy or self-realisedness of which we can neither posit existence nor non-existence in the proper sense of the terms. It is, perhaps, for this reason that most of these writers of the Trika School seek to explain Śakti from this standpoint as a sort of tendency (Unmukhībhavana) of a seed slightly swelled up just before the shooting out of the plant which erstwhile remained in the seed in a nascent state.[8]

The Trika writers, when they conceived the idea of Śakti in this character of course regarded it not as 'force in exercise' but as a transcendental

existence beyond the reach of discursive reasoning.[9] Mālinīvijaya therefore speaks of both Śiva and Śakti as beyond the Turya or the fourth state.[10] Looked at from this point of view, Śakti is not at all an entity different from the Parama Śiva and does not stand in any (external) relation to him. She is only a sort of hypothesis framed to explain to the devotee of dull intellect the true nature of Śiva, so that, merging himself into the ocean of His Divine Essence, he can obtain final release. This the Trika expounders of Śaiva philosophy clearly perceived that the idea of a separate Śakti arises in the human mind only when he attempts to concentrate his analytic thought on the compact indivisible Pure Consciousness and tries to separate the content from the unified whole by predicating some definite character to it. Hence there can be no such thing as Śakti except from the point of view of a cogniser (Mātṛtā), or literally, a measurer or determinator of reality. This highly metaphysical truth of deeper significance regarding the idea of Śakti is clearly hinted in the following couplet of Mālinīvijayottaravārttika :—

> " Śaktiśca no Śaktimato vibhinnā
> Tenaiti no bhedamiyaṃ pṛthaktvam ।
> Amātṛtāyāṃ na ca Śaktir asti
> Tena Svarūpaṃ na hi Śaktiyuktam ॥ "

" The Śakti again is not different from the Śaktimat. Hence this separation does not lead to

its distinction. In the absence of the state of a cogniser Śakti does not exist. Hence the Real Self is not joined with Śakti."

Śrī Ādyanātha, the author of Anuttaraprakāśikā, seeks to define and explain the idea of Śakti from an entirely different point of view. He does not consider Śakti so much from the Vimarśa aspect, but lays greater stress on the conscious Self of independent illuminative nature (Ananyataḥ Prakāśaḥ) which merely rejoices in absolute freedom. He, therefore, explains Śakti as that *illumination independent of anything other than its own-self which is but the power of limiting the world-transcending Śiva*. According to him Śakti comes to mean that power of absolute freedom of Śiva by virtue of which He voluntarily limits Himself and appears as the world of objects.[11] It may incidentally be noted here that this definition of Śakti approaches very nearly to the etymological meaning of Māyā, which also being derived from the root *mā* to measure, has been taken to mean that by which something is measured, *i.e.*, the power of voluntary Self-limitation.

From what has been said above it can be easily understood that the idea of Śakti has been interpreted by most of the eminent writers of this School as the *inner nature* (Sāra) of the most Supreme Śiva (Parama Śiva-Bhaṭṭāraka), who possesses consciousness of Perfect Egoity

(Paripūrṇāhantā) and 'unrestricted freedom' (Svātantrya) as the two essential constituent elements of Him. It has also been remarked that some of the later authors added the element of joy (Ānanda) to this concept of Śakti. This characteristic feature of joy of the Śakti concept has been very greatly emphasised by Abhinavagupta, one of the most accurate and philosophical interpreters of the School, who flourished from 993 to 1015 A. D. In his celebrated work the Tantrāloka he seeks to explain the idea by that aspect of Śiva, the Supreme Enjoyer (Bhoktā) possessing the power and objects of enjoyment (Bhogyatva). In the 190th sloka of Tantrāloka he says :—
"The God of unsurpassed blissful Joy is called the Enjoyer (Bhoktā), Desire and such other contents of His Self are His 'enjoyables' (Bhogya). For this reason only he assumes the state of Śakti." [12] The value of this particular way of determining Śakti consists in the fact that it endeavours to establish the idea of Śakti by bringing it into a sort of closer and more intimate connection with the Highest Reality, Śiva. Besides it also tries to point out the most important fact that the whole world of diverse names and forms exists as real only when it has its roots deeply struck into the nature of the Supreme Being Śiva and is, therefore, nothing else than the externalisation of the conscious Śiva as the object of His own Self-enjoyment.

"Sakti," says Jayaratha, the celebrated commentator of Abhinavagupta, "is the very Saktimat Himself. But Her difference from Him is held only by a sort of transference of epithet by reason of the difference in Her evolutes."[13] This characterisation of the Sakti idea from the aspect of the 'enjoyed' has this great advantage in speculative thought that it serves to bring out the fact that the concept of Sakti implies a 'substantial totality' beyond relations—a whole seeking to realise itself in their detail. To put this in plainer language, Sakti refers to a 'unity which transcends and yet contains every manifold appearance' (Svātmasātkṛtākhilaprapañca). One fact of supreme importance that strikes a student of the Trika Literature as he passes from one definition of Sakti to another is that almost all of these definitions of Saiva writers try to explain the world of phenomena—both mental and material—not from a static point of view as a mass of lifeless inert matter but from a dynamic view-point as a vast store-house of one energy manifesting itself as partly potential and partly active.[14] It is by the power of His Illimitable Consciousness of Egoity (Vimarśa Sakti) that the Supreme Lord manifests Himself as the world of objects. But the difference consists only in this, that in the form of material or rather cognised objects (Vedya) such as 'pots and jars' He does not possess any freedom of Self-determination (Svātantryaśūnyatābhāsana) while in that

of the conscious evolutes such as Sadāśiva, Īśvara, etc., He retains that power (of Self-determination) under certain limitations (Svātantryayuktatābhāsana).[15] Now it may be asked how this Śakti, which is nothing but consciousness or sentiency, operates in externalising Her self (bahiṣkaroti) as the material objects of perception such as blue colour, pleasure, pain, pots, etc. To this Trika philosophers answer that conscious illumination (Prakāśa) has always the character of a cogniser Pramātṛtva, because without that the Conscious Reality would not become a positive entity (Vastu) but a sort of non-entity without any definite character of its own[16] (Avastu). So when the Conscious Reality Saṃvid, instead of the conscious reflection of Egoity, reflects itself as 'this it is' He becomes materialised, so to say, by that particular mode of his reflective consciousness. Looked at from this new point of view of the Kashmere Śaivas, the whole external world of 'cognisables' or matter interpreted as having its origin from Śakti as a particular mode of conscious reflection of objectivity (Idantāparāmarśa) comes to be imbued with life-force, and, apparelled in the garb of truth and reality (not Māyā or illusion), appears in a perfectly glorious light to the devotee (Sādhaka). This interpretation of the phenomenal world of manifold appearances by the application of the idea of Śakti is fraught with a deeper truth as regards the

nature of the Supreme Reality which is bound to disclose itself to every right-thinking man in a calmer moment of reflection. It is the fact that the idea of Śakti as interpreted above by the prominent writers of the Trika School impels us to recognise the truth that Supreme Reality is not a 'mere sundered abstraction' sitting apart from phenomena something similar to the conception of the changeless (Kūṭastha) inert Brahma of the Advaita Vedānta. On the contrary, Reality itself is nothing at all apart from appearances, and that outside it, as Prof. Bradley puts it, "there is no space in which appearances could live." [17] If we closely consider how the powerful advocates of this School of Thought handled the problem of Śakti or of diversity, we cannot fail to notice another most interesting point in their discussion, *viz.*, the introduction of the idea of 'Self-wonderment' (Camatkṛti) as an integral element in constituting Vimarśa.[18] This idea of wonder, again, is further connected on etymological grounds with the aspect of the feelings of 'having enjoyed' or self-realisedness mentioned above. The meaning which they wanted to convey by employing this psychological factor of self-wonder is that whenever a man begins to reflect on his own self as an ego in the category of subjectivity (Ahantā) he invariably comes to experience within himself a sort of keenly felt wonder or a feeling of enjoyment as he discovers, all on a sudden, that he has the capacity (Sāmarthya)

or power of being conscious of himself as an ego. This being true in the case of individual human consciousness, they extended this analogy also to the sphere of the consciousness of Parama Śiva, and maintained without any hesitation that the Śakti, which is the reflective consciousness of Perfect Egoity, consists also in a sudden outburst of Śiva's own consciousness of his potential possibilities—carrying along with it and at the same time a joyous feeling of 'self-realisedness,' which they technically called 'Antarnimagnasaṃvidānanda.'[19]

Indeed these writers conceived this element of 'self-wonder' or 'realisedness' to be such an important factor in the formation of the idea of Śakti that the celebrated author of Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī defines Citśakti as of the nature of Pratyavamarśa, which again is nothing but the essential character of Her Self-wonderment (Ṣvātmacamatkāralakshaṇa). He even goes so far as to regard this character of self-wonder as the real test of determining the sentient character of things. "A jar," says he, "is an insentient object because it does not wonder at its own self, that is to say, cannot reflect on the latent possibilities of its own self in the form of a subjective ego."[20] This idea is more lucidly expressed by the author of Ṣaṭtriṃśattattva-sandoha in the course of his explanation of the idea of Śakti. "It is the Supreme Lord (Parama Īśvara) alone," says the author, "who comes to occupy the state of Śakti

by virtue of the manifestation in different degrees of this 'Self-wonderment' at the consciousness of Perfect Egoity owing to the condition of the swelling up or overflowing of His own Lordly Nature.[21]

Śakti—Her relation to Parama Śiva.

Śakti, as has been explained before, stands only for the inmost nature of the Supreme Lord Śiva. This 'nature' again, has been explained as 'the unrestricted freedom of His reflective consciousness of Perfect Egoity.' No sooner had the Trika writers come to establish this idea of Śakti as a principle or category[22] with some sort of separate existence of its own standing by the side of Parama Śiva for His creative impulse than they were inevitably driven to face another problem which they found by no means an easy one to solve. This new problem was: How is this full-bodied principle of Śakti to be harmonised with the conception of the Supreme Reality? Once the Śakti-idea received a kind of separate existence as a category in their hands, they began to apprehend that people might entirely lose sight of Her real character as the identical nature of Śiva and conceive Her in a dualistic relation to Him. It is probably in this anxious attempt to guard the earnest devotees of the Trika against such possible mistakes of fatal consequence that we shall find the real reason

why this question of Śakti's relation to Śiva formed the subject-matter of a serious discussion at all. Probably for this reason also we see that in the Mālinīvijaya Tantra, one of the oldest authoritative books of the School, Śakti is described as inhering in the Great Sustainer of the world (Jagaddhātrī) in a relation, if at all, of Samavāya—technically so called.[23] Here too in the Mālinī we get for the first time a clear hint as to how to conceive Śakti in a perfectly harmonious relation to Śiva, the Ultimate Reality. This point can be fully grasped only when it is explained what the relation of Samavāya exactly means in Indian philosophical literature. Samavāya means a relation by virtue of which two different things such as a substance (Dravya) and an attribute (Guṇa), substance and Karma, substance and sāmānya, cause (Kāraṇa) and effect (Kārya), atoms (Paramāṇu) and Viśeṣa appear so unified as to represent one whole.[24] It is, in other words, an inseparable relation of essential identity pointing to a reality which continues to remain in the character of an undivided organic whole. It is, therefore, practically not a relation at all in the ordinary sense of the term but a special kind of indissoluble connection (Ayutasiddha Sambandha). It is, as Kumārila the great Mīmāṃsist philosopher holds, 'nothing external from the things themselves in which it inheres, but only a special aspect which refers to the real

essential nature of the things themselves (Svarūpa). Thus when Mālinī seeks to describe Śakti as Samavāyinī of Jagaddhātā, it evidently means that she belongs to the one unified real Self of Śiva, and is not really a distinct principle at all. Kallaṭācārya, the famous author of the Vṛtti on the Spanda Kārikās, who flourished in the latter part of the 9th century A.D., clearly perceived that it is impossible to determine from the highest metaphysical standpoint any hard and fast relation of Śakti to Śiva, the Highest Reality, because every relation as such implies some kind of rigid distinction between the objects denoted by the terms of the relation. He perceived, too, that to maintain a relation between Śakti and Śiva in the absolute or ultimate sense would mean that the two—one set up in contrast with the other—are mutually distinct. This would, he saw, lead to the entire breaking up of the character of unity of the indivisible and supreme conscious reality, Śiva. To avoid this misconception he takes great pains to explain the relation between Śaktimān Śiva and His Śakti as one of perfect non-distinction (Abheda). "In the truest sense," says he, "the Parāśakti is a strictly unified whole because of her possessing *consciousness of Perfect Egoity*." When this Supreme Lordly Nature (Pārameśvarya), the manifestation of the highly wonderful Śakti holds within her the mass of phenomenal existences of endless diversity wrought

by Māyā Śakti, she seems to be invested with the nature of distinctions and minor differences (Aunmukhya) owing to the mere rising up of the tendency of the reflection of objectivity (Avaraparāmarśa). It is then that She is specifically called 'Many' (bahu). But this specific denotation (Vyapadeśa) of Śakti is employed for bringing home the real purpose of the non-distinction (Abheda) between Śakti and Śaktimān. To bring out this inner relation of harmony between Śakti and Śaktimān Śiva Kallaṭa in his commentary on the Spanda Kārikā 18, characterises this Śakti in plainer language as 'one who does not fall outside the Self of Parameśvara' (Svāvyatirekiṇī). In the course of elaborating the supremely transcendental character (Paratva) of this Śakti he draws our attention to the fact of Her operation in perfect harmony with Śiva's illumination of consciousness (Prakāśa) in which she manifests Herself in all Her endless wealth of diversities. "Herein," says he, "consists Her supreme character (Paratva)." [25]

Passing on from Kallaṭa, when we come to Rāmakaṇṭha, another famous commentator on the Spanda Kārikās, who lived in the middle of the 10th century A.D., we find this view of the inseparable intimate relation of Śakti with its possessor Śiva is much more strictly adhered to. So great indeed was the stress laid on this aspect of Samavāya that Rāmakaṇṭha even went so far

as to advance this inseparable internal relation of Śakti as a ground for the existence of Śiva Himself. We can easily find out what he meant by this. It is the idea that Śiva comes to recognise His own Lordship (Aiśvarya) only when He knows Śakti as His and not something standing outside of Him. Śiva's Śiva-hood consists in His reflection of perfect I-ness (Pūrṇāhaṃvimarśa) as the Lord.[26] Now, consciousness of full Egoity is then and then only possible when He is also conscious of possessing Śakti who holds within Her the entire phenomenal world. If Śakti is allowed to stand apart from or outside the Supreme Śiva, He will lose His positive character. Devoid of the consciousness of His endless wealth of manifold phenomena (Anantavaibhava), Śiva will be without Caitanya or sentiency because He will no longer be able to experience the ever-increasing delight of Self-Wonderment (Svātma-camatkṛti) at His vast resourceful nature of Śakti. Thus shorn of His immeasurable glory Śiva, the highest Godhead, will naturally descend to the lowest level of an insentient material object, as a pot or jar of clay.[27] With a view to explain with the ütmost lucidity this idea of specially indissoluble inner relation of Śakti, Rāmakaṇṭha makes use of an illustration drawn from the psychic state of a man's everyday life. When a man begins to feel a desire for something, the object of his desire, being not yet

actually materialised, remains in him as an idea and as such cannot be differentiated from 'the total psychic contents' of his conative self. So also the Śakti of Lord remains indeed inseparably united with His real Self (Svarūpa) when He is just conscious of the working of a creative impulse within him.[28] This Parā Śakti of the Parameśvara, non-distinct from His own Self (Svarūpābhinna) is, in the ultimate sense, a truly unified whole. When the word Śakti is specifically employed (Vyapadeśa) to denote the individually determinate reals (Bhāvavyaktayaḥ), the real purpose of the author is to bring out the inner meaning of the total absence of Her distinction from Parameśvara, the possessor of Śakti.[29]

In Vijñānabhairava, a work of considerable antiquity, we find this very question as to the real nature (Svarūpa) and relation of Śakti put into the mouth of Śrī Devī, the divine consort of Bhairava. In reply to this Bhairava asserts that Śakti is nothing but His own self (Svarūpa) in the aspect of 'one who fashions, sustains and withdraws the world. He further affirms that Śakti, possessed as She is of His nature, is nothing distinct from Him, and that the relation of non-distinction always continues to exist between Her and the Possessor[30] (Śaktimān). This relation of non-distinction our author seeks to explain by various illustrations drawn from the

ordinary facts of a man's life of everyday experience such as the fire and its burning property (Dāhikā Śakti), the lamp and its illuminating power, the Sun and its rays, and so forth.[31] "The burning power," he says, "of the fire cannot be perceived to exist separately, however carefully it may be argued out. It is only the nature of the fire that we come to know when it is determined by such experience of burning as 'This it is.'" It is only because Śakti is essentially identical with Śiva and breathes His nature that She is described in Īśvarapratyabhijñā as possessing the character of a category (Padārthātmā) and not simply as the attribute.[32] Coming down from the 10th to the 11th century A.D., we find that the tendency to regard Śakti as a definitely marked out category (Dharmī) as distinguished from a mere attribute (Dharma) has perceptibly increased. A greater stress is now laid on the substantively real character of Śakti as a definitely determined category (Padārthātmā). Inspite of this increased tendency to give the Śakti-idea a more prominent position in thought, its real character of non-distinct relation to Śiva is never forgotten and is constantly urged. As a good example of this we need only examine the remarks of Kṣemarāja, the celebrated 11th century commentator of the Vijñānabhairava already mentioned. Commenting on a passage of that work dealing with the question of Śakti's relation, he first gives

the bare etymological origin of the word Śakti, deriving it from the root 'Śak' meaning 'to be able to do something' with the Kṛt affix 'ti' in the 'Bhāvavācya,' meaning capability (Sāmarthya) in the sense of a Dravya or substance as distinguished from an attribute.[83] While attaching this substantial character (Dravyatva) to the meaning of the word, he had most probably in his mind the well-known grammatical maxim "Kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavat prakāśate."[84] Then he goes on to say that Śakti is a substantial category (Dharmiṇī) because She has come to possess such attributes of the Śaktimān as omniscience (Sarvajñatva), omnipotence (Sarvakartṛtva) and omnipresence (Sarvātmatā). It is interesting to note in this connection that this conception of Śakti as a Padārtha was already hit upon by Abhinava Gupta in the 10th century in his deeply learned commentary Vimarśinī under the 12th Kārikā, 5th Āhnika, 1st chapter, where he discusses the question why Ātmā, a Dharmī or Dravya, is mentioned by a case in apposition (Samānādhikaraṇa) with Caitanya which means a Dharma.

Rājānaka, another Trika writer, in his Ṣaṭtriṃśatitattvasandoha puts this idea of Śakti as a category in the plainest language possible. "Śakti," says he, "is not distinct from the Śaktimān as held by other schools of thought though She has the attributes of the Śaktimān."[85]

"Śakti," says Bodhapañcāśikā, "is never intended to be described as a thing apart from the nature of Śaktimān. There is always an essential identity (Tādātmya) between the two, as in the case of the fire and its burning power."[86] Here a question might naturally arise as to why the conception of Śakti as a sort of 'Companion Principle' to Śiva is at all necessary if She is not regarded as anything different from His nature or self. In answer to this two reasons have been suggested by the adherents of this school. The first argument is that the Real Self of Śiva cannot be established unless it is also admitted that He has an active character, *i.e.*, His Śakti (Svarūpapratipādanānyathānupapatti). The second argument is that the two most outstanding characteristics of Śiva, namely, Supreme Lordship (Māheśvarya) and absolute consciousness (Saṃvittva), without which He will not be what He is, will come to nothingness if Śakti is not maintained in the above sense.

Rāmakaṇṭha in the Vṛtti on the 16th Kārikā argues that it is extremely difficult to grasp the undetermined (Anavacchinna) Supreme Being by human intellect, as it cannot proceed without bringing in an element of division by breaking up the reality presented as a whole into two factors, *viz.*, a "what" and a "that," an existence and a content (Uddeśya and Vidheya). Intellect, as we all know, operates through a process of

'disjoining of quality from being.' This process, which characterises a man's mind (Manas), is called in the Sāṃkhya philosophy 'Saṃkalpa' or discrimination (Vivecana) of an object by means of a subject and a predicate (Viśeṣya and Viśeṣaṇa).[37] To express this idea more clearly, it may be said that thought can never enter into reality as an undivided whole, but has to grasp it by detaching from it a quality and then adding the same to it as an adjective. For example, when we perceive a jar of clay as 'this is a jar,' what is really presented to us, according to almost all the different schools of Indian philosophy, is an undetermined reality, whole and entire. Then the intellect comes in and alienates from that undivided existence an aspect of it, *viz.*, its particular shape, colour, etc. (Kambugrīvādimattva), that differentiates it, and reunites them with the characterless reality expressed as subject. So Rāmakaṇṭha says that the Seers of the Truth (Tattvavid) sought to indicate the real nature of the Supreme Reality by breaking it up into principles or categories, *viz.*, Siva and Sakti, in view of this inherent limitation of intellect. "It is for this reason," says he, "that the ancient teachers have in the 'Tattvagarbha' hymn sung in praise of the Siva category alone with a view to establish the prominence of Sakti forming His own Nature characterised by the condition of an ever-existent consciousness which never disappears

(Aviluptopalabdhṛtvalakshaṇa)." The following is the hymn :—

"Let us ever worship that Supreme Mother who is of the form of an 'Undetermined Effulgence (Nirupadhi-jyotirūpāyāḥ) and who is specifically referred to by the epithet Śiva."[38]

For the second reason for this twofold division of the Highest Being, we have to turn to the famous 10th century exponent of the Trika, Abhinava Gupta, and also to his well-known commentator Jayaratha, who flourished in the latter part of the 12th century A. D. Abhinava Gupta takes up the question in Tantrāloka, and offers the explanation that the conception of Śakti is equally necessary with the conception of Maheśvara, because without this conception of his Lordly nature Śiva would lose His essential character as Maheśvara and a conscious principle.[39] As He would then have to remain always in one definitely fixed character like a jar of clay, He would have to be a material object. The deeper significance implied by this argument has been fully brought out by Jayaratha. "It is His real Nature," argues he, "that is alone everywhere declared as Absolute self-determination (Svātantrya) and Supreme Lordship (Māheśvarya). Now, these two characteristics constituting His Nature would not have been possible if His Self were to be manifested in one constantly fixed character. In that case materiality would come upon Him.[40] Pots of clay

etc., are purely material, and so they appear always in one fixed way, as 'Here now appears this pot.' Not so appears the Supreme Illumination" (Prakāśa).

"*Śakti—Her Manifestations.*"

In the previous section an attempt has been made to show how from the mere abstract subjective idea of Śakti embedded in the Supreme Śiva as His 'Inner Nature of Perfect Egoity' the exponents of the Kashmere School had to pass on to the more concrete and objective elaboration of Her as a 'full-bodied principle' or category (Padārtha) of independent existence capable of having things predicated of Her. Once the purely metaphysical idea of Śakti as 'merely the essential character of Śiva in an indissoluble relation of self-identity' was left behind, She at once rushed into the forefront of definite human thought as the sole 'living principle of cosmic forces in synthesis' possessed of a definite character of Her own—this time a Dharmī and not a mere Dharma. This attribution of the new character of a substantive category (Dravyatva) was so pronounced and well-defined that in course of time even Śiva, the Ultimate Reality (the datum of all modes of consciousness), was pushed into the hollow background of a 'Pure Being' beyond the reach of human intellect.[41] This fact of the rising predominance of the Śakti-idea as a principle and the gradual dwindling away

of Siva into comparative insignificance is easily brought home to one who carefully goes into the details of such earlier Trika Tantra works of unquestionable authority as the Mālinīvijayottara and the Vijñānabhairava. In the former of these two works the reader will find that at the very outset Sakti, the goddess Umā, occupies an equal position with Parameśa, the Supreme Lord, as His divine consort (Maheśānī).[42] But later on as he goes deeper into the contents of the whole work, *e.g.*, (1) the details of the cosmic evolutes of Sakti,[43] (2) the devotee's merging into Her Self by the different kinds of concentration (Dhāraṇās) according to Yogic method,[44] (3) concentration on the letters (Varṇas) of Mantras as imbued with *living psychic forces*,[45] and (4) the various kinds of spiritual initiation (Dīkshā),[46] he finds that they are all explained specially from the Sakti point of view. So much stress is indeed laid on their bearing on Sakti that a reader immediately after finishing the whole treatise invariably carries away with him a general impression of the Sakti-principle reigning supreme over all the processes of cosmic evolution.

It should be remembered here that this Tantra forms only the latter part (Uttara) of a bigger and more comprehensive work, of which unfortunately no manuscript has as yet been discovered. It is, therefore, quite possible that in the earlier portion of it (Purvamālinī) there were many elaborate and

illuminating discussions on the nature and classification of the 'modal manifestations' of the Śakti principle, which, if discovered, would undoubtedly throw a flood of light on the problem of the various manifestations of Śakti in Her expansion both in the order of cosmic evolution and in that of individual psychic consciousness. However, the Mālinīvijayottara in its present shape treats mainly of the different esoteric methods of a particular type of Śaivic Yoga.[47] For the attainment of this 'Yoga' several 'mudrās' or occult postures are enumerated. These 'mudrās,' too, are explained as the different modes of the Śakti-manifestation of Śiva (Mudrākhyāḥ Śivaśaktayaḥ).[48]

In the chapter which treats of 'Mānasa Yāga, a kind of 'internal meditative sacrifice,' concentration on the limbs of Śakti is expressly enjoined.[49] In explaining 'Dīkshā' it is specially enjoined that the devotee should fix his memory on the 'enkindled Śakti' who pervades his whole body from head to foot.[50] With regard to Dhāraṇā it can be seen that this Tantra, while recommending the 'fixing of mind' on the sense-organs as all-pervasive (Vyāpaka), holds up before the mind's eye of the devotee the alluring prospect of a kind of 'unrestricted power over the exercise of these organs.'[51] In the same manner even the 'Śaivic Yoga' is explained as the realisation of unity with Śakti, the Great Cosmic Energy in the inner as well as the outer worlds.[52] In Chapter XIX of this

Tantra even the letters (Varṇas) constituting a 'mantra' are said to have their origin from a particular Śakti-manifestation called Kula Śakti.[53] It must be admitted here that stray notes as to the meditation of Śiva are not wanting in the Mālinī. But still one cannot fail to catch as the one leading note the dominating influence which Śakti exerts on the various rites and spiritual exercises of the devotee (Sādhaka). Hence the general impression that the Tantra as a whole leaves in the mind of the reader is that the whole of the work from first to last is fully saturated with the idea of the working of the Supreme Śakti-principle. Similarly in the Vijñānabhairava we find that at the beginning the Śakti-principle has been placed on an equal footing with Śiva (here specifically styled Bhairava) as His divine wife, Śrī Devī.[54] But here, too, a closer study of its contents reveals the fact that the general purpose of the work is an elaborate elucidation of the Śakti-principle rather than of Śiva Himself. This Tantra opens with a question of Śrī Devī to Her Lord Bhairava regarding the real nature of Śakti. In answer to this Bhairava explains to her in detail the precise nature and relation of Śakti to Śaktimān.[55] The first distinctive feature of this Tāntric work lies in its wonderfully lucid and elaborate explanation of the different processes of mental abstraction called Dhāraṇā. By means of these Dhāraṇās, it is related, one is able to realise the Principle of Śakti

who in Her turn serves as an entrance to Bhairava, the Ultimate Reality. Thus Śakti, because She leads to the attainment of Śiva, is called the 'Śaivic Mouth' (Śaivī mukhaṃ).[56]

The second distinctive feature of this Tantra consists in the manner in which it clearly develops the idea of Śakti as a 'Void' (Śūnya).[57] When by the exercise of Dhāraṇās all the mental modifications (Vṛttayaḥ), are swept away from the 'field of consciousness,' leaving only the substratum of undetermined consciousness as the 'Energy of Pure Sentiency' (Cit Śakti), Śakti 'Self-satisfied' (Svaparitṛptā) is called the 'Great Void' (Mahā śūnya).[58] Here, a question might naturally arise as to why only two works, *viz.*, the Mālinī and the Vijñānabhairava, have been specially chosen out of the extensive field of Trika literature in support of this view of the early rise of Śakti into prominence with the result of the gradual retirement of Śiva into the inaccessible citadel of a 'Transcendental Principle of Pure Being.' In answer to this possible question it has to be noted that these two Tāntric works are chosen because they are regarded as typically representing the essential teachings of the numerous other works of the Trika School. As for the pre-eminent position of Mālinī, suffice it to say that it is regarded by no less a person than Abhinava Gupta, one of the masterly exponents of this School, as presenting the essence of Trika

philosophy.[59] Jayaratha, one of the most brilliant commentators of Abhinava, following in the footsteps of his master, says that "Mālinī is even superior to all the other Schools of Śaivistic Tantricism." [60] Thus having so far dealt with the problem of the rising predominance of the Śakti-principle, let us enter into the question of the different series of Her manifestations.

Śakti before She shines out in the different modes of Her manifestations remains, as has been so often pointed out, immersed in the Being of Paramaśiva. From the point of view of this undifferentiated immanental state of existence She is described by the general term 'Cit Śakti' or 'Vimarśa Śakti' in the sense of an 'All-transcending power of Perfect Egoity.' With reference to this stage of immanence, again, She is also designated by the term "Parā Vāk," the "All-transcending Supreme Logos." [61] Of all the treatises in the Trika, it is in the Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikās of Utpaladeva in the early part of the 9th century A.D. that we find this Vimarśa character of Śakti most emphasised.[62] Then in the 11th century Abhinava Gupta in his celebrated commentary Vimarśinī on the Īśvarapratyabhijñā seems to see in it the greatest determinative character of Śakti. Accordingly, he took a good deal of trouble to trace all the different phases in the Śakti idea to this fundamental character of Vimarśa, which, again, he identified with the

power of ‘ Self-determination ’ (Svātantrya).[63] Utpala in Iśvarapratyabhijñā characterises ‘ Cit Śakti,’ the power of Pure Sentiency, as having the nature of ‘ Pratyavamarśa.’ Abhinava explains ‘ Pratyavamarśa ’ as that “ which has the nature of ‘ Śabdana ” or sound, meaning a kind of ‘ inner inarticulate expression ’ [64] independent of Saṃketa or the conventional agreement by which a particular word is meant to express a particular meaning.[65] Pratyavamarśa, in this sense, is the basis of such ordinary words of speech dependent on Saṃketa (convention) as ‘ this is blue, ’ ‘ I am Caitra,’ etc. In this form of ‘ inner sound ’ Śakti includes within her the entire world of objects in its ideality. Hence She is called ‘ Vāk ’ or the Word. As ordinary words (thought-symbols) express their corresponding objects by a process of ‘ spreading out,’ over the objects, Śakti as the ‘ Supreme Word ’ spreads Herself out on the whole world of objects and envelops them within Her folds. Because She thus appears always in the form of ‘ resting on Her own Self ’ (Svarūpa-viśrāntā), which is essentially ‘Cit,’ She is ‘ eternal ’ (Nityā).[66] This eternal aspect of Śakti ‘ reflecting in wonder at Her Self with the ideal world ’ is really what is meant by Vimarśa. This very fact Puṇyānanda, the author of Kāmakalāvilāsa, expresses by saying that ‘ Vimarśa is the name of one identical Śakti whose manifestation knows no limit.’ [67] From a consideration of the explanations offered

by the Īśvarapratyabhijñā and Nāgānanda (quoted by Puṇyānanda) we can unhesitatingly say that Vimarśa Śakti is the Supreme Śakti in the state of 'vaguely experiencing' in Her Egoity the 'suppressed ideal Universe' while it is yet of an undefined character referring to the 'I-ness' (Ahantā) as still the more dominant factor. Abhinava Gupta fully discusses this essential aspect of the 'first stirring-up of the ideal world' in Śakti in the 5th Āhnika under Kārikā 9 in the following words :—

"Therefore, all this aggregate of objects (Bhāvarāśiḥ) is in the Cidātmā (Pure experience) in the continuous resplendent form of 'I am.' Then because Saṃvid (the pure conscious Principle) possesses the nature of a master characterised by Self-determination of the form of Lordliness, She throws out this aggregate of objects in gradual succession in diverse forms, making possible the distinctions of different cognisers (Pramātṛbhedaprathanapūrvakam). Even then She brings unity amongst different cognisers with regard to some common object of appearance (Ābhāsa), as in the case of several persons witnessing the dancing performance of a girl (Nitambinī-nṛtye iva prekshakān). In so far as the girl remains the common object of the witnessing activities (Prekshaṇa) of those persons, there happens for the time being a kind of unity (Aikya) amongst them. But so far as their bodies, vital forces,

intellects, pleasurable feelings, etc., are concerned, there does not occur any perfect unity, because these factors of distinctions still remain.[68] Thus unifying (Saṃyojana) and separating (Viyojana) every moment in various ways the cognising subjects (Pramātṛ), the Lord of Supreme Power projects the world of names and forms by exercising the functions of creation, preservation, etc." It is this 'independent play' of his power of introducing diversity in unity and unity in diversity both in the external and the internal world that is called Vimarśa.[69] According to the Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā of Utpala, this Vimarśa Śakti is beyond the determinations of time and space (Deśakālāviśeshiṇī). Hence, She is regarded as the 'Great All-pervading Existence'[70] (Mahāsattā). Abhinava attempts to strengthen this transcendental character of Śakti (Vimarśa) by the argument that determination of a thing is possible only when the subject of determination and the object qualified can be combined in thought without any incongruity or 'inner conflict.' As an illustration of qualification he mentions the stock example, *viz.*, "Caitra is with a bracelet" (Kaṭakavān Caitraḥ). Here, according to him, the person called 'Caitra' and 'Kaṭaka' can be connected in idea without any feeling of incompatibility or inner conflict. But in the case of Vimarśa and Time and Space the same thing cannot be said, because they give rise to a feeling of utter incongruity,

as Vimarśa manifests Herself in subjectivity (Ahantā), whereas Time and Space express objectivity (Idantā).[71] When this Vimarśa Śakti comes into operation, there arises the fixed determination of distinction and non-distinction in the world (Bhedābhedavyavasthā). Again, Vimarśa, as pointed out before, is said to be identical with the Svātantrya Śakti, the power of Self-determination, on the ground that this fixed order of difference and non-difference is nothing but the outcome of the Svātantrya or the Self-determining capacity of the Lord Śiva possessing the nature of conscious Self-illumination.[72] Thus in the last step of the process of analysis the Śakti-idea is resolved into the irreducible factor of Svātantrya, the power of determining Self by Self alone, into the two-fold categories of subjectivity and objectivity, or the perceiver and the perceived (Grāhyagrāhaka). It is, in other words, in Vimarśa that the Supreme Independence (Svātantrya) of the Lord in the above sense consists.''[73] To express this idea in plainer language, it can be affirmed that the Supreme Soul (Paramātmā) is pre-eminently an Independent Entity, a means and an end to Himself, because He is capable of reflecting on Self as the Perfect 'I' in essential identity with the phenomenal world presented in ideality. For an easy understanding of this intricate point of the essential unity of Vimarśa with Svātantrya it is worth while to remember always

the all-important fact that whenever the writers of this School employ any such term as "Prakāśa" (Self-illumination), "Vimarśa" (Reflection of Egoity as 'I'), and "Cit-Svarūpa" (True Self of Pure Sentiency), they never mean any real difference amongst them.[74] On the contrary, they assume the existence of a vital connection of fundamental character, so much so that the denial of any one of these three necessarily implies the denial of the other two. What they really meant by this fundamental unity binding them together is that whenever one thinks of any being as 'Shining by Himself' (*i.e.*, a Self-illuminating Principle, —Svayamprakāśa), the very law of thought forces him to think also that such a being must have knowledge of his existence as 'I am.' This thought, again, by its sheer force of logical necessity leads to a further acknowledgment of the fact that it is by reason of this knowledge of existence (as 'I am') that such a being becomes what he really is—a Pure Conscious Self (Citsvarūpa). To this simple but at the same time most fundamental truth of the 'Ultimate unity of Self' lying hidden at the back of all the countless experiences of daily life, the 'eternal rallying-point' of all our cognitions, Abhinava Gupta's commentator Jayaratha attempts to draw our attention by the following brilliant passage of Tantrāloka:—"Svātantrya is truly termed Vimarśa, which latter, again, is its principal character. Self-illumination without

Vimarśa is neither possible nor can it be reasonably maintained." [75] The reason for giving this detailed explanation of Vimarśa is that the term Vimarśa is not only employed in a highly technical sense, but that it is also an entirely new conception, because nowhere in the extensive literature of the six orthodox Schools of Indian Philosophy is this term to be found used in such a special sense as is so often done in the Trika. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that in the hands of such masterly exponents of Trika Philosophy as Utpala, Kshemarāja and Abhinava Gupta this Vimarśa conception became a kind of 'universal key' by which a Śaiva devotee could easily aspire to unlock the doors leading to the secret chambers of the mysterious palace of Śakti—the Great World-mother—disclosing to his eyes an amazing wealth of endless occult forces.[76] Thus having examined the nature and importance of the Vimarśa idea in connection with Śakti, let us go back to the original point of the different kinds of Śakti-manifestations.

The earliest reference to the well-known tripartite division of Śakti into Icchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā for the purpose of creation is to be found in the Mālinīvijayottara Tantra. The meaning of these three Śaktis is best explained in the following passage of the work:—" O Devi, She who is called Śakti, inherent in the

Sustainer of the world, assumes the desire-nature (Icchātva) of Him who desires to create. Hear how She attains multiplicity, though one. That by which a thing is known for certain to be 'this' and not otherwise goes by the name of Jñāna Śakti in this world. When the idea is born 'let this thing be thus' the power making it so at that moment is called Kriyā Śakti. Though She is thus of two forms, Īśvarī, when determined by the limiting adjuncts (Upādhi) of objects, becomes of endless forms, like the jewel Cintāmaṇi. Therein She attains motherhood, becomes divided two-fold and fifty-fold. She thus becomes the Mālinī." [77] Why, it may be asked, does this Supreme Śakti assume three different forms? This question was, as a matter of fact, raised by Rāma-Kaṇṭha in the middle of the 10th century A.D. In his Vivṛti on Spanda Kārikā (No. 1) he suggests that this division does not introduce any element of real difference into the nature of unity of the Supreme Śakti. The three modes Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā are only three specific points of view (Vyapadeśa), from which Śakti is looked at owing to the play of Māyā Śakti, which brings objectivity (Idantā) into the uppermost level.[78] Māyā Śakti, according to him, stands for the 'creative functioning' of Śakti, which stimulates from within Her the first stirring-up of the 'Ideal Universe which had hitherto remained suppressed.' This three-fold

division of Śakti is the most general division in the Trika literature. But sometimes a five-fold division is also found. The best explanation of this latter division is to be found in the Tantrasāra of Abhinava Gupta. "There is," says he, "One Independent Illumination (Prakāśa). Because of his independence alone He is undetermined by Space and Time, and is therefore pervasive, eternal, and also possessed of the nature of both having forms and formlessness.

(1) His Independence is Ānanda Śakti ;

(2) the feeling of 'divine wonder' at His independence is Icchā Śakti ;

(3) the power of knowing without any reference to feeling or emotion is Jñāna Śakti ;

(4) the power of creating any and every form is Kriyā Śakti ;

(5) and the power of 'shining' or revealing His own Self is Cit Śakti." [79]

This five-fold division is made in strict correspondence with the five principles of Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva, Īśvara, and Vidyā, which arise from Śakti in the course of Her manifestation in universal experience. According to the Tantrasāra of Abhinava, Parameśvara passes through the above five stages (*i.e.*, these five principles) owing to the preponderating influence of one or other of the five Śaktis.[80] Thus when Cit predominates, the principle of Śiva arises ; when Ānanda Śakti predominates, the

Sakti-principle arises ; when Icchā gets the upper hand, Sadāśiva or Sādākhya originates ; when Jñāna predominates over the others, Iśvara comes into existence ; and lastly when Kriyā rises to the surface, Vidyātattva arises. As to what exactly is meant by these aspects of the five principles of Siva's universal experience at the time of the inner working of the five Saktis, we can find a very lucid explanation in the commentary on Paramārthasāra, a Kashmere Saiva work written by Yogarāja, who flourished in the 11th century A.D. "Siva-tattva," says he, "is that Caitanya (sentiency in the pure sense) in the form of Supreme Illumination (Mahāprakāśa-vapuḥ), who is above all the other four principles, and is full of 'Self-wonderment' at His Perfect Egoity dwelling in the hearts of all cognising beings. That very Lord, partaking of Cit-nature, comes to reflect inwardly (Parāmṛśataḥ) in such form of experience as 'I will become the world.'[81] Then out of this inner 'Contemplativeness' His Saṃvid attains the special form of 'joy' or 'Blissfulness,' and comes to be invested with the character of a world (viśvātmatā). Thus Saṃvid at this stage, slightly swollen up (Kiñcid ucchūnatāpannā), becomes like a seed containing all the objects of the world that are yet to come. This is the Sakti-state. Then, again, from this germinal state (bījāvasthā) of cosmic evolution, technically called the 'Great Void,'

analogous to such a form of experience as 'I am this,' the Great Lord experiences a 'feeling of wonder' full of Perfect Egoity at His reflection of identity with the coming world, as though it were held up before Him in Idea. This 'wonder' finds its expression in such a form of experience as 'I am this,' because the Kriyā portion of Śakti finds rest in His Egoity, leaving the Jñāna portion scope for free independent play. This stage of Maheśa is called Sadāśiva.[82] Then follows from this the Īśvara stage, when He feels 'Self-wonderment' in the feeling of identity with the world in Idea as 'I am this' by a perfect balance, as it were, of the two mutually contrasted aspects of Subjectivity and Objectivity. In this Īśvara stage the ordinarily felt contrast between Subject and Object has not as yet dawned.[83] Now from this stage, Subjectivity expressed in 'I am this' becomes the principal factor, and Objectivity becomes subordinate to it. This may be expressed by an analogy to such a form of individual consciousness as 'I am I and this is this.' Here the wonder can be explained by comparing it with a kind of 'undefinable wonder' that a new-born child feels when it touches its head with the fingers.'[84] An interesting point in this conception of five stages in the 'universal experience' of Śiva, with special reference to this five-fold manifestation of His Śakti, lies in the

fact that these five stages are conceived in strict accordance with the gradual decrease of the purity of this 'wonder' (Camatkṛti) of Śiva. Thus in the first stage (Śiva) this 'wonder' is the wonder of Pure Subjectivity unalloyed by any mixture of Objectivity. In the second stage (Śaktitattva) it becomes slightly bound up with Objectivity (though yet undefined) in such inner reflection as 'I will become the world.' Here the wonder of Pure Subjectivity (Pūrṇāhantā) gets the first colouring of Objectivity in the ideal presentation of the world. In the third stage (Sadāśiva) Objectivity is dimly perceptible, though wholly overshadowed by Subjectivity. In the fourth stage (Īśvara), the purity of 'wonder' has considerably decreased, so as to make the appearance of the polarity of Objectivity and Subjectivity possible. In the fifth stage, the gradual process of mixing up this 'pure gold' of wonder with the alloy of Objectivity becomes complete.[85] It may be of some interest to note here that some of the later authors in this school do not recognise Cit and Ānanda as two different manifestations. They include the former in Jñāna and the latter in Kriyā. The reason for this different enumeration lies, according to them, in the fact that the rising up of these principles in and within Śiva means some kind of 'functioning' or formative (Nirmāṇa) activity being stimulated from within. Creative action

again, is seen everywhere in human experience to proceed from some agent possessed of Jñāna (Co-ordinating intelligence) and Kriyā (power of putting forth energy).[86] As a typical representative of this divergent view we may mention Puṇyānanda, the author of Kāmakalāvilāsa, who probably flourished much later than the great Trika expounder Abhinava Gupta.[87] According to his opinion, it is Jñāna Śakti, and not Cit as a separate Śakti, that lies at the basis of Śiva-tattva. Similarly also Kriyā Śakti (and not Ānanda) stands as the basis of Śaktitattva.

Connected with these three Śaktis—Icchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā—a different set of three Śakti-manifestations is also mentioned from the standpoint of the three well-known functions of Creation, Preservation, and Destruction, *viz.* :—Vāmā, Jyeshṭhā, and Raudrī.[88] Vāmā Śakti, the world-mother, means the power which projects the world of the endless cycle of births and re-births (Saṃsāravamanāt). Jayaratha identifies Her with another Śakti called "Tirodhāna Śakti."[89] It is specially to this Śakti that Brahmā owes His function of creation. Next comes Jyeshṭhā. She is the power by which the whole world is sustained, and is specially connected with Vishṇu the preserver. Raudrī, as Her very name indicates, is the Śakti which belongs specially to Rudra, the God of universal destruction. The earliest trace of this division of Śakti from the view-point of the

three creative functions can be found in the Mālinīvijaya. Here these three Śaktis, conceived as the female counterparts of the gods of Hindu Trinity, are first mentioned in the 5th Adhikāra, which deals with the enumeration and explanation of the different worlds and the various paths (Adhvas).[90] In this chapter they are mentioned with the two principles of Sadāśiva and Īśvara; and are said to be connected with the Sakala or waking stage. Later on, when we come to the 8th Adhikāra, dealing with the specific rules of Tāntric purificatory rites, we find them mentioned once again.[91] This time their connection with the Trinity is vaguely suggested.

In Svacchanda, another Tāntric work of considerable antiquity, which is very often quoted as an authority by the later writers of this school, they are mentioned with six other Śaktis in connection with the rules prescribed for 'Devatānyāsa.' According to this Tantra, the devotee should place on the throne the white lotus of Vidyā, and in each petal of this lotus he should place (for the purpose of meditation) these 'shining' (Devī) female deities —Vāmā, Jyeshṭhā, and others.[92] Beyond this 'passing reference' Svacchanda does not clearly explain the meaning or function of these 'Shining' Śaktis. Curiously enough, no mention of these can be found in the Vijñānabhairava-tantra.

Coming down from the time of such Tantric works of remote antiquity to the early part of the

9th century A.D., when Vasu Gupta first expounded the Trika system in the Śiva Sūtras promulgated by him in a mysterious way as a 'fresh utterance' from Śiva, we do not find Vāmā and others mentioned anywhere in the Sūtras by their specific names. There are, of course, two or three Sūtras which might be taken as vaguely referring to these Śaktis by such terms as 'Yoni' and 'Mātṛkācakra.'[93] Judging purely from the sūtras themselves, it is indeed hazardous to assert that the words 'Yonivarga' and 'Mātṛkācakra' refer only to these three particular Śaktis, and not to any other kind of Śaktis. Thus it seems probable that the Śiva-sūtras did not attach so much importance to this division as it did to the other better known division into Icchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā. In the early part of the 11th century Abhinava Gupta connects them with the Prāṇa-activity in the bodies of animated beings. In Tantrāloka he explains Vāmā as the "Goddess who presides over the 'Saṃsārī' people and discharges the function of 'vital-activity' of earthly creatures." Jyeshṭhā carries on the same function within the bodies not of all persons but only of those who are 'fully awakened to the consciousness of the Truth' (suprabuddhānām).[94] This very function Raudrī performs in the bodies of 'those only who are willing to comprehend the Truth' (Bubhutsūnām). Jyeshṭhā Śakti has also another important function to perform. It is She alone who leads the

devotee to the attainment of a true spiritual guide (sadguru) assuming the form of Śiva's Will when the aspirant is already inspired with Rudra Śakti and is desirous of realising his true self.[95]

After Abhinava in the latter part of the 11th century, Bhaṭṭabhāskara, in his Vṛtti on the Śiva-sūtras, seeks to explain ' Yonivargaḥ ' in the sūtra " Yonivargaḥ Kalāśarīram " as referring definitely to these three Śaktis along with a fourth called Ambā. These four Saktis, according to him, are the originating sources of numberless other Śaktis of the world. They are the concrete manifestations (mūrtayaḥ) of Śiva. Out of their conjunction is formed the body (śarīra) of the Kalās. The Kalās, again, are the causes of all ' Śabdas ' (words, *i.e.*, elements of speech), extending from the first letter of the alphabet, *A*, to the letter *Ksha*.[96] These Kalās also cause the appearance of the distinctive knowledge of limited individuality, such as ' I,' ' this is mine ' (Ahaṃ mamedam iti bhedaprathātmakam) by an interpretation of Śabda or speech (śabdānuvedhena). Thus circumscribed by the working of the Kalās, the Paśu forgets his own natural wealth of illimitable Consciousness (Prakāśa), and comes under their bondage. So in the end it is due to the gradual unfolding of the Śaktis (Vāmā, etc.) that the true knowledge (of Self) of the Jīvātman is enveloped.[97]

Bhaṭṭabhāskara goes a step further, and attempts to trace the origin of these four Śaktis from the transcendental Kriyā Śakti manifesting herself as Mātṛka Śakti.[98] But though he seeks to derive all of them from the Kriyā Śakti, he does not definitely suggest any connection of this new division (leaving out Ambā) with the more general division into Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā. But that such an attempt to harmonise these two different divisions of Śakti was already being made at this time can be seen from the following verses in Kāmakalāvilāsa :—

" Icchāśaktis tathā vāmā paśyantīvapushā sthitā ı
Jñānaśaktis tathā jyeshṭhā madhyamā vāgudīritā ıı
Ṛjurekhāmayī viśvasthitā prathitavigrahā ı
Tatsaṃsṛtidaśāyān tu baindavaṃ rūpam āśritā ıı
Pratyāvṛttikrameṇaiva śṛṅgāṭavapur ujjvalā ı
Kriyāśaktis tu raudrīyaṃ vaikharī viśvavigrahā ıı"

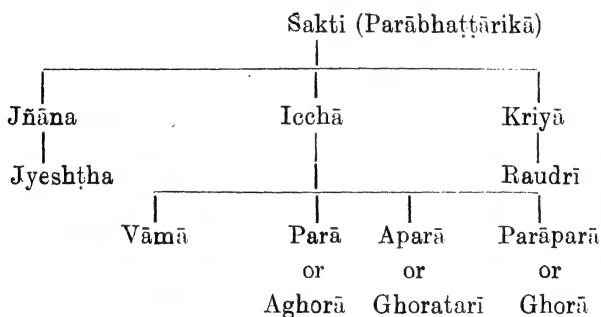
Side by side with this division of Vāmā, Jyeshṭhā, and Raudrī, the earlier Tāntric works of the Trika seem to recognise a third set of Śakti manifestations conceived of as 'Great Mothers' (Mahāmātṛs)—sometimes eight and sometimes seven in number, presiding over the eight Vargas or groups of five letters. These Śaktis are enumerated as :—Māheśī, Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā and Yogīśī.[99] The Mālinī seems to suggest that these Śaktis originated from the Icchā Śakti of the Supreme Lord impregnated

with the import of all the Śāstric lore when He made Aghora understand this.[100] This eight-fold manifestation of Śakti is described in the 8th Adhikāra of the work as 'surrounding Śiva,' who is described as 'seated on the six-fold seat' of Ananta, Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya and Karṇikā. Here their connection with the eight quarters is also vaguely suggested. "After thus meditating on Śiva of such description," says Mālinī, "the devotee should sacrifice to the eight Mātṛs."[101] But here the enumeration, it may be noted, slightly differs from the preceding one. Instead of mentioning Brahmāṇī, Vaishṇavī, Cāmuṇḍā, Yogīśī and Kaumārī, the Tantra here mentions Āgneyī, Varuṇānī, Vāyavī, Nairṛti, and Kauverī. On a comparison of these two enumerations of the same eight Mothers, one cannot fail to notice that in the second enumeration (in the 8th Adhikāra) the four intermediate quarters are referred to instead of the four Goddesses, *viz.* :— Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Yogīśī. This fact leaves no doubt that the Mālinī early sought to establish a connection between these eight Śaktis and the eight quarters or directions of space. On this question of the eight-fold division of Śakti we find that the Vijñānabhairava, which is supposed to contain the pith and essence of an earlier Tantra called Rudrayāmala, does not at all dwell on its nature and significance. As to why this division of Śakti is dropped in this Tantra we have no

means of offering any satisfactory explanation. It may be quite possible that these eight Śaktis were more fully dealt with by the bigger Tantra Rudrayāmala, of which it contains the essence.[102]

Turning next to the Svacchanda, we find that the connection of these Śaktis with the 'vargas' or groups of letters and also with the directions of space—which was at least a suggestion in the Mālinī—is definitely worked out. This Tantra regards each of these Śaktis as the 'ray' of Bhairavī, the divine consort of Bhairava. Strangely enough, Svacchanda mentions them as only seven and not eight in number. The Śakti called Yāmyā is left out in this enumeration, which also differs somewhat from that of the Mālinī. Thus instead of Yogīśī and Brahmāṇī we find here Vārāhī and Mahālakshmī.[103] Along with these three divisions of Śakti which we have hitherto explained, we also find a fourth division—perhaps the last important division—of Her into :—(1) Aparā, or Ghoratarī, (2) Parāparā or Ghorā, and (3) Parā or Aghorā, from the point of view of Her different functions of degrading the Aṇus (individual souls in bondage) or leading them up towards the 'Supreme abode of Śiva' (śivadhāma). "Inspite of the infinite forms of the Śakti of Śiva," says the Mālinī, "She is chiefly known, O Devi! in three different aspects owing to the different modes of Her operation

(Kāryabhedāt). The name Aparā stands for those Śaktis which closely embrace the Rudra-souls and draw them more and more downward by attaching them to sense-objects. Parāparā stands for those Śaktis which like the former, bar the progress of the individual souls towards final liberation by bringing about their attachment to the mixed fruit of their action (*i.e.*, pain and pleasure). Lastly, those benign Śaktis are called Parā by the learned (in Śaktitattva) which lead worldly creatures to attain the fruit of the (eternal) abode of Śiva." [104] In the 8th Adhikāra of Mālinī a kind of description of the 'concrete images' of these three is given in connection with Nyāsa of the Vidyāmūrti. Parā is described as possessing the 'pleasing' (Āpyāyanīm) form of a 'shining' Goddess (Devīm) resplendent with effulgence of a million of moons. Assuming the form of 'Will,' She destroys the miseries (Ārti) of supplicant devotees. Aparā, the terrible, is said to be of a 'dark and tawny complexion.' And lastly, Parāparā—the mighty in Her real self—is of 'red complexion.' She, too, assumes the form of Will, and is slightly stern (Ugrā), but not terrible.[105] The real point of interest in this description is that a connection of these Śaktis with the primate Icchā Śakti is sought to be established by the words "Icchārūpadharām." In the Vijñānabhairava this division also finds its place in connection with the question of Śrī Devī expressing doubt as to the triple nature

of Śakti. In reply to Her question Bhairava explains at some length only the nature of Parā Śakti leaving out the other two. Anyhow, this Tantra does not seem to indicate so clearly as the Mālinī the nature and reason for this division. Thus we have tried to set forth in a general way the different ways in which, according to the Kashmere School, the Great Supreme Śakti (Parābhaṭṭārikā saṃvid) manifests Herself in the course of the gradual unfolding of the whole universe. To enable our readers to form an adequate idea of the interconnection amongst these different sets of Śakti-manifestations, we give below a tabular form.[106]

Raudrī-Māheśī, Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā, Yogīśī.

1st set.—Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā.

2nd set.—Vāmā, Jyeshṭhā and Raudrī.

3rd set.—Māheśī, Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā and Yogīśī.

4th set.—Parā, Aparā and Parāparā.

Having thus dealt with the question of the four main divisions of Śakti and their mutual connection, let us go back to the original topic of Her triple manifestations into Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā. This division is indeed so well known amongst all the writers of this school and so significant from a psychological point of view that an attempt to discuss the problem of Śakti in the Trika system would be absolutely meaningless without a reference to this. It is because of these three Śaktis coming into operation that we find the three Tattvas or categories of Śiva, Śakti and Aṇu evolve. It is then and then only that the very application of the specific term Trika to this particular system of thought becomes possible. Consequently, for a better understanding of the Trika mode of handling the problem of Śakti let us enter into a detailed consideration of each of these Śaktis. As we have pointed out before, it is in the Mālinī that we can find the earliest trace of an attempt to define regularly these three Śaktis. Then from the Mālinī, of rather uncertain date, we have to come down to the early part of the 10th century A. D. for a further attempt to expound them by Utpala in his Pratyabhijñā Kārikās.[107] It is not until we come to the latter part of the 10th century, when Abhinava, the great encyclopoedic writer of this School flourished, that we can find a regularly philosophical and consistent way of bringing out their

meaning and inner significance. To the gifted author of the masterly commentary Vimarśinī indeed belongs the credit of having given a first systematic and closely reasoned out explanation of Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā Śaktis. With these preliminary remarks let us see what Jñāna Śakti means. According to Mālinī, as we have seen, She means the 'power' by which a thing is known for certain to be 'this' and 'not otherwise.' This power from which proceeds the 'determinate objective knowledge,' or which imparts distinctive character to the knowledge of objects, is really meant by Jñāna Śakti. This suggestion of the conception or 'distinctive determination' (niścayajñāpakatva) Abhinava takes up from the Mālinī and develops by affirming that Jñāna Śakti denotes 'that power of Saṃvid'—the ultimate datum of all forms of consciousness—by which She causes the phenomenal objects merged in Her to appear as 'slightly emerged,' bringing about the idea of externality and distinction in our knowledge of objects.[108] The whole process of reasoning by which he seeks to establish this may be seen from the following passage of Vimarśinī :—" Saṃvid (Pure Consciousness) shines. No one can deny this fact. This Saṃvid cannot be said to be the exclusive property of objective phenomena, because in that case the 'shining' or manifestation (Prakāśa) of objects would not go beyond them to any cogniser (Pramātā). On the assumption of this position the

whole edifice of human knowledge, built on the relation between subject and object (Grāhya-Grāhaka), would collapse. Hence, Saṃvid must perforce be admitted to include within Her the aggregate of phenomenal objects. These 'illuminations' (Prakāśāḥ) of phenomena in and through Saṃvid cannot be distinct things like objects. So they are but one, because otherwise there will not be any recognition in memory. Thus, one as She is, Saṃvid envelops within Her all the objects of the world. This being admitted, it has also to be admitted that She has the power to manifest some objects out of this 'inner content of the totality of objects' (Svarūpāntarbruḍitam artharāśim) as slightly alienated from Her (hence the mutual distinction of objects). It is this power of Saṃvid that goes by the name Jñāna Śakti." It is called Jñāna because in this state, inspite of the 'first budding forth' of a sort of 'internal self-alienation' the element of manifestability (Prakāśakatva) still predominates.[109] This Jñāna Śakti is a self-established thing (svataḥ siddhaḥ padārthaḥ), and as such cannot be proved by anything external to Her self. She is that 'illumination' (Prakāśa) in the sense of a 'mere presentation' which establishes itself in the 'conscious reflection of Ego' (Ahaṃparāmarśa) in every mode of knowledge such as 'I know,' 'by me known' and 'will be known by me,' etc.[110] Thus according to Abhinava the idea of the possibility of a 'manifestation' (Prakāśa) as

different from the limited cogniser (Māyāpramātā formed by the limiting influence of Māyā) but at the same time remaining in unbroken unity with the Ultimate Saṃvid lies at the very root of the conception of Jñāna Śakti. She is thus nothing but the 'Perfect Power of Independence' of the Lord, which brings about apparent distinction in Her nature of compact unity by a seeming alienation of the inner content, but all the while keeping intact Her real nature of higher unity. Thus we see that if we push our enquiry about this Śakti a step beyond, we inevitably come to the conception of Svātantrya Śakti lying behind Her.[111] Thinking on the lines of Abhinava, it requires but a moment's reflection to arrive at the most important conclusion that Svātantrya, as explained in the Trika, unmistakably points to the fundamental metaphysical position of this school, *viz.* :—that Truth in the ultimate sense is true because it contains within it a "potential possibility" of manifold appearance. This explanation of Jñāna Śakti as the power of bringing out the appearances of objects as distinct, yet retaining their essential oneness (Aikya) with the True Self, leaves us is no doubt that Abhinava endeavoured to take his stand on the ultimate position of 'Truth as manifold possibility' and to deduce all the other Tattvas from it. When this Jñāna Śakti or 'Power of determining knowledge' 'branches out' from potentiality to actuality, She attains the nature of Kriyā Śakti. According to Abhinava,

knowing a thing implies a kind of 'internal activity,' or rather a kind of 'gathering one's self up'[112] (Antaḥsaṃrambhaḥ), by which the Principle of Consciousness in the form of illumination (Prakāśa-rūpā Saṃvid) distinguishes self from such grossly material (Atyanta-jaḍāt) objects as the quality of 'white', etc. The precise meaning of Kriyā Śakti can be better expressed in the following words of his Vimarśinī:—"In such a mode of experience as 'I know' (Jānāmi) a kind of 'internal effort' (Antaḥsaṃrambhaḥ) is also experienced by the knower. It is by virtue of this Saṃrambhaḥ, or the 'pulling together of one's self,' that a person while knowing an object, *e.g.*, a pitcher, also comes to have such experience as 'I know myself as separate from such grossly material things as the quality of white, etc. This 'internal activity,' too, participates in the nature of Cit or conscious experience. Such 'internal effort' is Vimarśa, and is called Kriyā Śakti in a transcendental sense, because She is also a self-established and self-illuminating entity (Svataḥ siddhā svaprakāśā), like Jñāna Śakti. This very Kriyā Śakti descends from Her transcendental position into the body of a creature gradually through vital force (Prāṇa) and subtle body (Puryashṭaka) in the form of physical vibration or nerve-force. It is then that She becomes capable of being directly perceived (*i.e.*, in the feeling of fatigue after muscular exertion).[113]

This interpretation of Kriyāśakti Abhinava attempts to strengthen by quoting a remark of his great preceptor Somānanda, *viz.* :—"Even at the very moment of grasping a pitcher that Kriyā or the 'activity of knowing' knows it" (Ghaṭādigrahakāle'pi ghaṭaṃ jānāti sā Kriyā). Really, the Supreme Śakti is one. Her real form is the 'Reflective consciousness of Egoity' (Svabhāvapratyavamarśa). This true nature of 'Pratyavamarśa' or reflection of 'I am,' 'out of me all things originate' and 'into me all are withdrawn,' is the most intimate character (Nijo dharmaḥ) of Saṃvid, and is also called Sāmānya Spanda. Possessed as She is of this nature, She manifests Herself through the potency of the wonderful Self-determination of the Lord in two aspects, *viz.* :—Pure Sentiency as such and the cosmos. The first of these two is the internal, while the second is the external aspect (Bahīrūpam) of Śakti.[114] Even in the ordinary psychological sense Jñāna points to an 'internal condition' of the mind. The whole complicated process of it is carried on within the mind and as such is not at all an extra-mental affair. Consequently, from this point of view of the 'inwardness' of Śakti as Pure Sentiency (Svabhāvapratyavamarśarūpā Saṃvid) She is called Jñāna.[115] But when a particular stress is intended to be laid on the idea of 'externality' of the same Śakti as partaking of world-character (Viśvātmakatva), that is, having

within it in a nascent form (like a big tree in its seed) the whole extended world of names and forms, She is called Kriyā Śakti. This special term is applied to Her because it ordinarily means 'some kind of change' that can be perceived in the external world—a kind of 'force in exercise.' It can be seen that Kriyā Śakti, understood in this sense, does not really signify anything substantially different from Jñāna Śakti, but only refers to a state of further 'externalisation' (bahirullilāsā) or ' branching out ' (Pallava-svabhāvā) of Her very Self. According to Abhinava, in every kind of knowledge there is a hidden element of 'inner reconstruction' (Nirmāṇa). This ' internal reconstruction ' necessarily implies some kind of ' internal non-successive (A-kramā) activity ' of the conscious Reality (*i.e.*, Kriyā). Thus, for example, when a person knows a pitcher what happens is that he not only grasps it in knowledge, but also knows himself in a perfectly new aspect of being intimately connected with it. He now practically recreates himself in this newly experienced aspect of perceiver (Pramātā) of the pitcher, which adds a fresh element to the already perceived groups of elements constituting his Self.[116] So with every act of knowledge a man comes to discover a new aspect of himself, or rather his potential possibility of Self-expansion. Thus with every act of cognition he is compelled to adjust himself to the new set of circumstances

that presents itself. By such an adjustment he makes them his own and transforms them into the necessary factors that go to constitute the concrete content of his Self or personality. It is this ' continual shifting of the knower ' or ' inner act of conscious response ' with regard to the object of cognition that is meant by ' inner reconstruction ' or re-creation of Self. Thus to know is to create. It is this psychological truth that Abhinava Gupta had probably in his mind when he attempted to deduce Kriyā Śakti from Jñāna Śakti as Śakti in the sense of an unchangeable (Avyabhichāri) nature (dharma) of capability (Sāmarthyarūpa), which shows Her self in the form (Śarīra) of 'activity' (Vyāpāra) distinctively characterised by a reflective consideration of the nature of Egoity of the Lord.[117] From this very timeless Kriyā Śakti assuming the subtle form of non-succession flow all the grosser physical and physiological activities of the world. As to the reason why She is not touched by Time (Kālenāsprṣhṭā), the Trika argument is that She cannot be subjected to the successional influence of Time because of Her being inseparably bound up with the Time-less deity Śiva. The ordinary activities of the world (Laukikī kriyā) that we perceive to take place in successive points of Time are brought forth by a special mode of the Lord's ' volitional power,' which seems to break up in separate links, as it were, the chain of continuity

of objective appearances (Ābhāsavicchedana).[118] Kriyā Śakti, thus conceived as the 'formative' or 'constructive' power, is of the utmost value in this school because it is by means of this Śakti that the Lord Śiva brings forth all the diversities of names and forms in the world. In this connection it must needs be remembered that according to the view of the Kashmere School it is absolutely impossible to establish any real connection between the world of manifold appearances and the Supreme Principle of Consciousness (or whatever may be its name)—a task that any system of Philosophy or Theology has to perform if it at all deserves that name—so long as consciousness, 'Cit' in its truest sense, is maintained as 'mere oneness' (Ekatva) without containing the 'many' within its Self even in a 'potential form of unexpressed Desire.' The problem of the 'one' and the 'many'—a problem of age-long controversy—can never be satisfactorily grappled with unless it is admitted that the 'one' is not a mere hollow and characterless unity but a unity rich in the wealth of a power to comprehend the 'many' within it (as its content).[119] In other words, in attempting to face squarely the problem it is futile to push it back a step further into the region of obscurity, like the Advaitic Vedāntists, by saying that the manifold world is neither existent nor non-existent but inexplicable (Tattvānyatvābhyāṃ

anirvachanīyaṃ). On the contrary, it must rather be maintained that some kind of essential relation subsists between the two, and that the 'many' has in some way or other (which we may not be able to say exactly) a 'locus' in the 'one.' [120] It is at this point of the question as to the relation of the two that the upholder of the Trika doctrine brings in this valuable conception of Kriyā Śakti characterised by parāmarśa—a kind of 'Creative Desire' (Cikīrshārupā Icchā)—in order to bridge over the gulf of the ordinarily conceived difference between the 'one' and the 'many,' the consciousness and matter.[121] In the course of his attempt to harmonise these two orders of existence (matter and consciousness), so fundamentally opposed to each other in our ordinary experience, Abhinava seems to have analysed the idea of Kriyā Śakti into two important constituent factors, *viz.* :—(1) Kartṛtva or the state of a doer, *i.e.*, agenthood, and (2) the function of completely or regularly entering into the different forms of objects (*i.e.*, a sort of co-ordinating activity implying the idea of 'scheme' or 'design'—Bhinnarūpa-Samāveśa). [122] These two elements of 'Kartṛtva' and 'Bhinnarupa-Samāveśa' constituting Kriyā, again, are impossible if we do not admit in the background the existence of Parāmarśa or Svātantrya, which means an unrestricted power of self-determination. The very word Kartṛtva suggests the idea of a 'free

agent,' as opposed to 'Karma,' meaning an object to be attained by the agent's activity.[123] Now, this Parāmarśa lying at the root of the conception of Kriyā is after all nothing but the 'Creative Desire, of the Lord, in which all the phenomenal objects that are yet to be constructed (Nirmātavyaṃ) with distinct names and forms lie in an undifferentiated condition. It is very interesting to note in this explanation of Kriyā Śakti how She is ultimately traced to the 'Creative Desire' of the Lord called Icchā Śakti. Following this line of thought, it is not very difficult to see that not only Kriyā but also the other two conceptions of Agenthood (Kartṛtva) and Causality (Hetutā) are so closely interconnected that they imply one another.[124] Hence, according to the Īśvara Pratyabhijñā of Utpala, the Lord Śiva becomes the cause and the fashioner of the world of such phenomena as pots and jars. It must not be forgotten in this connection that the writers of this school, while thus describing the nature of Kriyā Śakti, had always in view the fact of Her distinction from ordinary Kriyā, which means a 'movement of Time in the order of succession,' or in relation of a 'before' and 'after' (Pūrvāparībhūtatva). Kriyā, in the ordinary sense of the term, has the form of such perceptible (Ābhāsagocara) 'outgrowing activities' (Parispandarupā) as 'Devadatta goes, moves, falls,' etc In these cases no Kriyā is really seen apart from

such successive altered conditions of Devadatta as those of ' remaining inside his house ' (Gṛhadeśagata) and ' outside it ' (Bāhyadeśagata). Similarly in such Kriyā as ' milk is transformed ' (Pariṇamate) the meaning is really only the ' change ' of one and the same thing from being sweet and liquid to something acid and solid.[125] Thus Kriyā, strictly speaking, refers to positive things only (Bhāvāḥ eva) in the different characters of occupying different points of Time and portions of Space. Consequently, such a thing as Kriyā in-its-self (apart from the positive things affected) cannot be maintained to exist in the absence of any direct perception. Considered, again, from our common way of looking at things the very notion of Kriyā (with succession and duration) necessarily suggests the idea of ' multiplicity ' by a reference to the different units of succession, and, therefore, cannot mean one unified non-successive entity. To obviate this possible confusion of the special Trika sense of Kriyā with the ordinary meaning, a special term ' Spanda,' as pointed out before, has been purposely employed by Abhinava.

' Spanda ' means a kind of ' spontaneous self-initiated vibration ' not stimulated by anything outside. Abhinava uses this term as a synonym of ' Sphurattā,' which means ' manifestation ' (say of a pitcher) associated as a part with the ' I ' (Ahamaṃśalagnā.)[126] He explains ' Spanda ' as ' a

slight motion' (Kiñcic calanaṃ). The word 'slightly' (Kiñcit) here, as suggested by him, conveys the sense of an 'appearing (Ābhāsate) in motion though really motionless' because Spanda nowise exists apart from the true Self of Pure Illumination (Prakāśasvarūpa). Only in the limited consciousness of an individual (Māyāpramātā) it appears as though it were connected with different phenomenal appearances (Ābhāsa-bhedayuktam iva ca bhāti). As has been just now pointed out, the difficulty of maintaining Kriyā Sakti in the ordinarily experienced spatio-temporal sense in the Supreme Lord of Pure Consciousness could not escape the searching gaze of Abhinava's keen intellect. He therefore leaves aside the cheap popular conception of Kriyā and goes on to explain Kriyā Śakti from a higher and more advantageous position, namely, by a reference to the primate 'Conative Desire' of the Lord, which takes the form of a 'ceaseless cognition of the complete I' (Pūrṇāham).[127] His standpoint is clearly brought out in the following passage of the Vimarśinī :—

"But if this is so, one has to arrive at the natural conclusion that in the Lord, the Supremely True Cogniser (of Pure Illumination—Paramārtha-prakāśalakshaṇa) there cannot be any Kriyā because of the absence of the temporal succession in which She always expresses Herself." To this possible objection the answer is that properly

speaking it is the Desire (Icchā) alone of Parameśvara—which is of the nature of a 'ceaseless (1) cogitation of the complete I' in the form of (2) unrestricted freedom, and which also has the nature of (3) not-looking-up-to-the-face of another —that is meant to be understood by the term Kriyā. Thus the Will (Desire) alone is (expressed in the categories of) Causality, Agenthood (Kartṛtā) and Activity (Kriyā). This holds good even in case of human beings such as Caitra, Maitra and others. In their case, too, such 'internal volitional desire' as 'I will cook' is really the action (kriyā), on the ground that the continuous flow of 'I will cook' is never broken even in the course of various external activities such as 'Adhiśrayaṇa,' etc.[128] On the contrary, it is the will-consciousness such as 'I will cook' that really manifests itself in the character of 'internal vibration.' But there, truly speaking, no temporal succession exists. As in the case of men so also in the case of the Lord, the Creator (Īśvara), there is no succession-element in His 'cognition of the complete I' (Vimarśa) which takes such forms as 'I will rule,' 'I will manifest,' 'I will shine,' 'I will evolve myself,' etc. Such forms of His experience consist only of 'Egoity as such.' But from this potential state of incipiency the Divine Will (Icchā) goes further down to a level of actuality, and assumes a form in which She seemingly (but not really) appears to be connected with succession. Here

in some mysterious way She seems to pervade the body in the form of a 'subtle vibratory energy' such as a person feels when he says "I am going to cook." Now from a state of pure ideality, when She seems to pass on to that of materiality, She catches on Herself, as it were, a reflection of temporal succession and finally expresses Herself in the form of a rigid distinction of subject and object. Just as a person looking at the reflection on a mirror of a continuously flowing river seems to think that he perceives the very succession of the ripples of the stream, so also the Divine Icchā seems to express Herself in successive points of time in the course of Her passage from the ideal state of the vibration of the will to the grossly material state of the feeling of vibration in actual muscular exertion. To put it in simpler language, the same Divine Creative Will (Icchā) which leads the Creator to feel 'I will shine,' 'I will evolve,' etc., also leads a man in the same manner to such feelings of desire as 'I will cook,' 'I am going to cook,' etc. But in the experiences in the Lord's Creative Will there is no 'now' and 'then.' He does not require one moment to feel 'I will manifest' and another moment to feel 'I will evolve myself.' All these are elements of His Creative Desire presented to Him in His Supreme Will as one 'eternal now.' But in the case of the will of a human being She leads him to feel now 'I will cook,' and the next

moment 'I am going to cook,' and the moment after 'I will put the pan with rice on the oven' and so on. So here, because the person feels the different elements of his desire in different acts of will expressed in successive points of time, the Divine Will working in him appears (from his point of view and not really) to be successively expressed. The difference between the mirror and Parameśvara here lies in the fact that the mirror has no power of will, while Paramesvara has.[129] Thus He has a two-fold Kriyā Śakti, *viz.* :—(1) the power of producing activity in the form of succession, and also (2) that of establishing His connection with that activity in succession. So also in the case of succession in Space, which is also due to His Kriyā Śakti.

It is the Supreme Kriyā Śakti that brings about the direct relation (Sākshād anvayaḥ) of Dravyas (substances) and Śaktis with Kriyā, *e. g.*, the mutual syntactical relation subsisting amongst the different Kāraka Śaktis (*i.e.*, Śaktis inhering in Kartā, Karma, etc.) and their relation to the receptacles where they inhere, such as 'rice,' 'wood,' and the 'cooking pot' in the illustration—"He cooks rice in the vessel by means of wood" (Kāshṭhaiḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati).[130] The idea of spatial direction also arises out of the operations of this Śakti. 'Dik' or spatial direction is really nothing but a consideration of two things in ultimate reference to a unified experience even

in the midst of such discrete considerations (Bhedāvimarśa) as "This thing is to the east from that, is beyond that, distant," etc. Here, by the Vimarśa or the function of 'apperceptive unity' of Kriyā Śakti the two things are viwed as internally united inspite of their being externally perceived as different. In short, whenever the appearance of an object does not get satisfaction from its final reference to itself only (Ātmaviśrāntyā) but needs dependence (Sākāṅksha) in the last resort (Viśrānti) on another appearance (Ābhāsāntara), it appears in a relational aspect. This relational character of things is again an outcome of Kriyā Śakti because it involves Vimarśa or the 'unifying activity.' Thus operating as Vimarśa or 'unifying power of I-reflection,' Kriyā Śakti not only enters, as we have seen, into the very constitution of Causality. Agenthood, syntactical relation (of the Kārakas), Dik and relation in general, but also constitutes the very ground of inferential knowledge. On analysing the idea underlying inference, we see that the knowledge it gives is nothing but a kind of 'recognition' (Pratipatti) of intimate connection between two appearances (Ābhāsas), one of which has the nature of effect or inner nature (Svabhāvabhūta) of the other. This intimate connection is established in thought on the ground of a nature of identity (Tādātmya) between the objects perceived in causal relation. This Vyāpti-relation, expressing a relation of essential identity, is

based on the uncontradicted experience of finding both of them always partaking of one common character. Hence inference, working with the help of a consciousness of establishing unity in diversity, presupposes Kriyā Śakti (through Vimarśa).[131] But the uniformly fixed relation of cause and effect and the co-presence of the Sādhya and the Hetu (major and middle terms) in one and the same Adhikaraṇa (substance, *i.e.*, Paksha) in causal relation are brought forth by the operation of the Niyati Śakti of the Lord. An inference is, therefore, valid only within the area of a particular period of time and a region of space where this Niyati or condition of uniformity of operation is known to exist.

Not only Inference but Āgama (scriptural text, as one of the sources of human knowledge) is also traced to Kriyā Śakti. The only difference in this case consists in the fact that it is a most 'inward activity' (Antaraṅga-Vyāpāra) of Īśvara, whose nature is Cit. This inward activity' assumes the form of 'a highly confirmed and unifying reflection of Egoity' (Draḍhīyastamavimarśātmā) which manifests itself as Logos or 'Eternal Idea' (Śabdana). This inmost activity or Vimarśa is the very life of even such forms of knowledge as 'Direct Perception' (Pratyaksha), etc.[132] Thus operating as Vimarśa in the manner indicated above, Kriyā Śakti brings unity and cohesion amidst apparent diversities of discrete

phenomena, and forms the corner-stone of the splendid edifice of human knowledge built on the three main authoritative sources of knowledge, *viz.* :—Pratyaksha, Anumāna, and Āgama.

We have seen how the Lord causes the diversity of phenomenal world to appear in His Pure Illumination (Prakāśa) by means of Kriyā Śakti in Vimarśa form, which is ultimately His Creative Desire. But how, one might ask, is it possible to harmonise in thought the world-diversity (Viśvavaicitrya) with the one unified Prakāśa ? There always seems to arise in thought an inner disruption when one attempts to think of an ultimate and real connection between the two. That it was so with the Advaitin we have said before. But, unlike the Advaitin of Nirviśeṣa Brahman, the Kashmere Advaitin strikes out a new path, regarding the Śakti-holder as embracing within the Illumination-Self of Śakti the entire world of diverse phenomena. The hardest knot of all philosophical and theological speculations he unties in the easiest way possible by using the happy illustration of a variegated picture on a piece of canvas. In a picture, he explains, the different objects which are placed in different positions by a combination of light and shade in different degrees appear quite distinct from one another, though they are all on the same undivided piece of canvas. So also Īśvara, the Supreme, Universal Artist, paints, as it were, the entire

world-picture of manifold appearances on the plain and even-surfaced canvas of His one undivided consciousness of Illumination.[133] According to Trika writers, the best place to look for an explanation of the existence of the Lord's Jñāna and Kriyā Śaktis is the Jīva Himself (the individualised experiencer—Māyāsaṃkucita pramātā). If a person exercises a slight introspection and analyses the content of his own experience, he will find that it is composed of two most important factors :—(1) Ābhāsana or Illumination of Self, together with the concrete mass of sensations, feelings, etc., and (2) Ullekhana or 'bringing out' objectively the contents of his desire which hitherto he was unable to experience because they were not then existent. Of these two factors the first is really Jñāna Śakti or his knowing faculty, while the second is his Kriyā Śakti or desiring faculty.[134] Thus, strictly speaking, even a Jīva when he knows and acts realises to a certain extent his latent power of creative self-determination. This is explained by the immortal creations of great artists or men of extraordinary genius. Now, from this level of the limited experience of Jīva working under the circumscribing influence of Māyā, if a man pushes this result of his enquiry further on to a higher level, that of unrestricted consciousness, he is naturally led up to a position where he has no alternative but to affirm the existence,

in an undetermined condition, of Jñāna and Kriyā Śakti.

To sum up, we may say that in the highest stage of Parama Śiva there are two indistinguishable factors in His Supreme Śakti or Self, *viz.* :—Prakāśa and Vimarśa. There His Śakti not only shines but at the same time incessantly reflects on the 'Complete-I.' In this two-fold aspect of His Śakti-nature consists His Supreme Lordship (Māheśvarya). On emphasis being laid on the Illumination-aspect, that Śakti becomes Jñāna Śakti. On stress being laid on the Vimarśa aspect, She becomes Kriyā Śakti.[135]

Māyā Śakti in the Trika School of Kashmere.

Māyā Śakti plays an important part in the Trika system, for the reason that it is She alone who brings to the surface the category of Idantā[136] (*lit.* 'thisness,' *i.e.*, objectivity), which before Her operation remains submerged in the Supreme Śakti. By causing this implicitly contained element of objectivity to shine out explicitly, She brings forth the well-known division of the Tattvas into Sadāśiva, Īśvara, Vidyā, etc. It is precisely at this point of the gradual differentiation within the 'inner content' of the Supreme Śakti shining out so as to produce the objective world of diversities that the Trika writers have to bring in the conception of Māyā as an 'individualising power capable of bringing forth diversities of genus and species'

(Jātibhedopabhedotpādana - vaicitrya - sāmarthya - rupā).[137] The earliest mention of Māyā as a Śakti is to be found again in the Mālinīvijayottara. It seems that Mālinī regards Her as 'a material cause of the world' (Upādāna Kāraṇa) for the accomplishment of the enjoyments (Bhoga) of Pralaya Kevalas. This Tantra describes Her in the following terms:—"She is one, pervasive, undivided, the origin of the world, without beginning and end, and is also called the Īśānī of Śiva."[138] From Her, according to Mālinī, not only proceed the five sheaths of limitations of Individual Experience (Pañca Kañcukas), *viz.*, Kalā, Vidyā, Rāga, Niyati, and Kāla, but also the other principles ranging from Purusha up to the earth, technically called in the Trika 'Kalādi-kshityanta.'[139] One point that strikes us in the manner in which She is treated in the Mālinī is that She is regarded as representing the 'productive aspect' of the Supreme Śakti of the Lord offering to the Sakalas or Jīvas in general for enjoyment an extensive field of Saṃsāra, containing a a totality of the above categories. Apart from this short notice of a rather sketchy character at the beginning of the 1st Adhikāra, Mālinī does not give us an explicit definition of Māyā as a principle, nor elaborate on the processes of Her working.

In the Vijñānabhairava-tantra we find the word Māyā mentioned only on two occasions,[140]

viz., (1) in pointing out the utter unsubstantiality (Asāratva) of the Sakala aspect of Bhairava, and (2) explaining that the Purusha is not separate from Śiva, but thinks Himself so, because of the working of the Māyā principle. From the way in which the word Māyā is mentioned in this Tantra along with such other words as Śakrajāla, (Magic), Svapna (Dream), and Gandharvanagara (the city of Gandharvas, *i.e.*, the clouds assuming fantastic shapes), it would seem that in this treatise Māyā is looked at simply from the point of view of an 'illusion or wonder-working power.' This impression is further confirmed by the 95th sloka, which attempts to define Her as 'She who keeps the individual soul under a spell (Moha),' *i.e.* She possesses the distinctive attribute of 'Mohanatva.'[141] If from such Tāntric works we come down to the 9th century, when Vasu Gupta "discovered" the Śiva Sūtras, we find that he explains Māyā not so much by laying stress on Her aspect of 'productivity of enjoyments' (Bhogosaṃsiddhi) or 'wonder of illusion' as by emphasising the aspect of producing 'Aviveka' or non-discriminate knowledge. The word Māyā occurs in two Sūtras only of the entire work of the Śiva Sūtras, *viz.* :—"A-viveko Māyā Saushuptaṃ" and "Kalādīnām tattvānām aviveko Māyā." In the first Sūtra Vasu Gupta tries to convey the idea of Māyā as a "Great Dreamless Sleep" of the individual Soul. In the condition of ordinary

Sushupti (Dreamless Sleep) the mind-energy (Manaḥ-spandana) of the Jīva remains at rest, and the whole world of the subject—the enjoyer and enjoyed—cannot be experienced owing to everything (Thinking Self and thought) being enveloped by a total darkness of non-discrimination. So also, in the case of Māyā, the Jīva is enveloped by an Ignorance or Ne-science which consists in a non-discrimination of the Supremely Conscious Nature of the Lord (Cidrūpasya avivekaḥ).[142] It is highly interesting to compare this Sūtra describing Māyā as of the nature of 'Dreamless Sleep' with the following remarks of Saṃkara, the great Advaitic Bhāshyakāra :—

"That Śakti, the seed of the world (undeveloped), to which the specific term Avyakta refers, is of the nature of A-vidyā or Ne-science (A-vidyā being nothing but the Aviveka of the Svarūpa of Self). Resting Herself on the Supreme Lord, She is a 'Great slumber of illusion,' in which all the Samsārī Jīvas lie, forgetful of the experience of the true Self."[143] This illustration of 'Deep Slumber' to explain the nature of Māyā is indeed a very happy one, as it serves to bring out with wonderful clearness Her enveloping function (Āvaraṇa). In the second Sūtra Vasu Gupta brings out more explicitly the idea of A-viveka or non-discrimination of the Cidrūpa Śiva. This Sūtra clearly states the fact that Māyā is nothing but the non-discrimination (Aviveka) of the eternal

seer of Pure Cit from the Tattvas beginning from Kalā.[144] This notion of Māyā as Aviveka or a positive principle of non-discrimination of the true from false appearances, which seems to be the main standpoint of Vasu Gupta, was further elaborated by Kshemarāja, the famous 11th century commentator of the Śiva Sūtras, in the following terms :—

"That indiscrimination (Aviveka) of the categories from Kalā to Kshiti, of the nature of limited agenthood, etc. (Kiñcit kartṛtvādirūpā), remaining in the forms of the sheaths, subtle bodies and gross bodies, is the non-distinctive knowledge of distinctive things. Such is Māyā or Prapañca—the objective world extended in names and forms—constituted by Tattvākhyāti or ignorance of the Tattvas." [145] That Vasu Gupta viewed Māyā from the standpoint of Āvaraṇa (enveloping character) productive of Aviveka or Moha is evident from the 6th and 7th Sūtras which follow this one. In these two Sūtras he expressly states that Siddhi (Sarvajñatva and Sarvakartṛtva, *i.e.*, the powers of Omniscience and Omnipotence) and Sahaja-Vidyā (intuitive knowledge of the Self-illuminating principle) can only be attained by a Yogi after the conquest and removal of the covering of Moha.[146]

Late in the 9th century, after Vasu Gupta, Kallaṭa regards Māyā as a kind of 'taint' which spreads itself like a cloud over the clear firmament

of Śiva's Cit Nature.[147] In his Vṛtti on the 40th Kārikā he explains Māyā as A-jñāna or Ne-science which gives birth to Glāni, causing the death and decay of the physical body of human beings. [148] He does not refer to Māyā in so many words actually, but seems to refer to her in his Vṛtti on the 47th Kārikā when he says that the Śaktis are always engaged in wrapping up the true character of the Jīva, and that this Śakti by which the Paśu is caused to fall away from His true Nature of Śiva and held in bondage is the Kriyā Śakti of Śiva working within the Paśu. This Kriyā Śakti when not known in her true character (Svarūpeṇa ajñātā) holds the Jīva in bondage, but when known leads him to the realisation of the final goal.[149] From the way in which Kallaṭa discusses the question of the Bandha (Bondage) of Jīva through the fetters of mind, Ahaṃkāra (Self-arrogation), subtle body, etc., it seems quite probable that he intends to identify Māyā Śakti with Kriyā Śakti and to say that it is Kriyā Śakti alone who is the Māyā or Ajñāna, the binding power as long as She remains unknown. This suggestion of an interconnection between the two Śaktis, Kriyā and Māyā, of the Lord Śiva marks a distinct step in advance from the earlier writers reached by Kallaṭa. This important hint, as we shall see, was in later times readily taken up and interpreted with much force by one of the most eminent successors of Kallaṭa, the great Abhinava Gupta.

Passing on from Vasu Gupta and Kallaṭa to the earlier part of the 10th century, we find that the great disciple of Somānanda, Utpala, takes up the conception of Māyā Śakti in his Pratyabhijñā Kārikās and handles it in a more systematic and philosophical way, strictly confining himself to the functions and processes of Māyā. He attempts to define Her as 'that Mohinī (Śakti) power of the Lord by which His Self, though ceaselessly shining as 'Illumination,' becomes partly unmanifested and the complete realisation of it barred in consequence.[150] According to him, it is because of this Māyā Śakti of the All-pervading Lord that the Supreme Vimarśa Śakti becomes limited, and being cut up into sections different from the cognisers as well as from one another goes by the names of such mental modifications as Jñāna, Saṃkalpa, Adhyavasāya, etc.[151] Māyā covers the ever-present 'Self-illuminating' Cit and causes such gross reflection of Egoity as 'I am this gross body, etc.' (Aśuddhāhaṃ vimarśaḥ) to arise in connection with distinctly separate bodies and cognisable objects (*e.g.*, blue, etc.). Thus She operates so as to give birth to the self-arrogating feeling of a limited cogniser. Hence, according to Utpala, the functioning activity of Māyā is two-fold, *viz.*, (1) Āvaraṇa (negative) and (2) Vikshepa (positive). By Āvaraṇa he seems to mean the dragging down of the Cit-Principle to a subordinate

position by partly enveloping His 'continual Self-revealing character.' Vikshepa, according to him, would be the causing of the appearance of the feeling of a limited cogniser with reference to distinct bodies, intellects (Buddhi), and vital forces (Prāṇa) in such expressions as 'I am, my body, intelligence, etc.[152] It is interesting to compare with this explanation of Utpala the doctrine of the later Advaita School describing Māyā as having the two-fold positive-negative functions of Vikshepa and Āvaraṇa. The idea of Aśuddha-Vimarśa in relation to gross bodies, etc., arising as resultant factor from the activities of Māyā may also be compared to the Adhyāsa or the super-impositional character ascribed to Her in the Advaita School. We can thus unhesitatingly say that Utpala's stress on the Vikshepa character marks a distinctly new step in the development of the conception of Māyā as a Principle. In his opinion it is due to the working of this power that the different mental states of knowledge such as Jñāna, etc., though not substantially distinct from the one non-successive (Akramā) Supreme Cit not only arise as mentioned before, but also appear to be distinct from Cit and successive, under the influence of the individualising categories of Time and Space.[153] Thus he seems to account for the spatio-temporal feeling that is experienced along with every kind of knowledge (*e.g.*, perception, doubt, etc.,) by

the fact of the discrete existence in space-time of the extra-mental objects. This spatio-temporal mode of the existence of the objects, again, he seems to derive from Māyā. It is worth while to observe here how cautiously he approaches this question of Māyā. He does not regard this Māyā Śakti as a different power by Herself, but feels it safer to connect Her ultimately with Icchā Śakti, the most supreme and primate of all the Śaktis of the Lord Śiva.[154] Māyā is, therefore, a form of Śiva's Supreme Creative will by which He, as it were, enters (Dehādim āviśan) the physical bodies, vital forces, etc., of earthly creatures, and shows Himself in the rôle of a 'limited cogniser' (Saṃkucita pramātā), as though pre-eminently possessing the 'mortal coil.'[155] Properly speaking, all phenomena as they remain internally within Saṃvid-as-such (*i.e.*, the Self-Illuminating Principle) are replete with Cit-nature. This typically Trika interpretation of the word has often been pointed out before.[156] But as soon as Māyā Śakti begins to act upon them (*i.e.*, the phenomena merged in Saṃvid), they at once alienate themselves from Saṃvid and appear mutually exclusive and external (in existence). They exist externally, not because they are externally perceived, but because they are perceived as distinct from the perceiver in such a mode of experience as 'This it is.'[157] Finally, if we carefully analyse Utpala's conception of Māyā

as set forth in his masterly Pratyabhijñā Kārikās, we can clearly distinguish the three following constituent factors, *viz.* :—(1) Limitation (Saṅkoca) of the Supreme Vimarśa Śakti of Pure Ahampratyavamarśa, resulting in such mental modifications as Jñāna, Saṃkalpa, Adhyavasāya, etc., (2) The identification (Samāropa) of the Pure Ego with such unreal things as the body, intellect, Prāṇa, or the 'void,' resulting in Māyā-pramātā or the individualised cogniser of limited experience, (3) The causing of an appearance of 'externality' (Bāhyatā) or the 'apart-from-the-perceiver' character of phenomenal objects really remaining with and undifferentiated from Cit, thus making possible the Artha-Kriyā or the pragmatic value of each and every object.

A careful perusal of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Āhnikas of the Āgama section of the Īśvara-pratyabhijñā, discussing the relation of Māyā Śakti with Śuddhavidyā Śakti and such Tattvas as Pati, Paśu, etc., leaves no doubt as to the conclusion that by the time of Utpala the positive conception of Māyā as a power solely belonging to Śiva of producing all the different impurities (Mala or Kālushya) clinging to Jīva and causing his bondage in the endless cycle of Saṃsāra, had come to be fully established.[158]

Before Utpala, as we have seen, in the Śaivistic Tāntric works (*e.g.*, the Mālinī and the Vijñānabhairava) and the works of Vasu Gupta and

Kallaṭa, this positive and definite character of Māyā as 'Mother of all the evils or impurities,' though vaguely suggested, was not definitely affirmed and carefully worked out in detail. It may be admitted that the Mālinī early sought to establish a connection between 'Mala' (impurity) and Māyā as Ajñāna—which possibly contained a broad hint as to this line of subsequent development in the definition of Mala as the cause from which shoots up the sprout of Saṃsāra. But thus far went the Mālinī and no further.[159] Utpala however was not satisfied with only mentioning the three-fold function of Māyā in giving birth by a process of 'narrowing down' the Illimitable Supreme Cit, as noted above, to the three products, *viz.*, (1) the individual cogniser of limited experience, (2) the mental modifications of Jñāna, Saṃkalpa, etc., and (3) the distinctive pragmatic values attached to different objects (Viśishṭārtha-kriyā-kāritva). He advanced a step further to strengthen Her positive character by deducing also the impurities of the six miseries, Kleśa, Karma, Vāsanā (subliminal impressions as Āśaya), Vipāka (the enjoyment of actions ripened into fruits—either pleasurable or painful), and two Malas, *viz.*, Āṇava and Māyika.[160] Keeping in view all that has been said up to this point about Utpala's exposition of the Trika doctrine of Māyā, it will, perhaps, not be difficult to see why we have made the remark that of all the writers of the Kashmere School it was he

who first attempted to throw sufficient light on the problem by an elaborate and systematic treatment of it.

Passing on in chronological order from Utpala, we come to Rāmakaṇṭha, who wrote a very lucid and elaborate commentary on the Spanda Kārikās about the middle of the 10th century. The most notable feature in his treatment of this problem is that he does not occupy himself very much with the definition and function of Māyā, but rather sets himself to the task of determining Her exact position and ultimate relation to the Supreme Śakti of the Lord Śiva. The existence of Māyā Rāmakaṇṭha seems to take for granted, on the authority of his predecessors Vasu Gupta, Kallaṭa, and Utpala. He then proceeds to expand more fully some of the points which were not so developed by the earlier writers. Thus, for example, in connection with the function of Māyā in giving birth to Aśuddhāhaṃ-parāmarśa or the reflection of the conditioned Ego—a point only raised in passing but not elaborated by Utpala—he takes up for consideration and expand the superimpositional character of such Aśuddhāhaṃvimarśa into four kinds of 'Imperfect Ego-consciousness' (Ahaṃpratyaya), *viz.* :—(1) modes of Ego-consciousness resting on the gross body (Dehālambana), such as 'I am a man, a Brahman, Devadatta, a youth, old, lean, bulky,' etc., (2) modes of such consciousness resting on Buddhi (individual intellect—

Buddhyavalambana), as 'I am happy,' 'I am sorry,' etc., (3) those resting on Prāṇa (Prāṇāvalambana), such as 'I am hungry,' 'I am thirsty,' etc., and (4) that resting on the cognition of 'void' (Śūnyāvalambana) after rising up from a dreamless sleep, 'as I knew not anything.'[161] According to Rāmakaṇṭha, all of these four kinds of Ahaṃpratyayas arising out of identification (Sāmānādhikaraṇyam upagatā) with bodies, intellects, etc., are caused by the Māyā Śakti through removal of the Parāmarśa of the true nature of Pure Ego (Ahaṃ). Another important function of Māyā which was not explicitly mentioned by preceding writers, *viz.*, bifurcation of the Supreme Saṃvid-nature of the Lord's Śakti into the two most universally experienced orders of existence—the worlds of the subject and the object, or the cogniser and the cognisables (Mātā-meya or Jñātā-jñeya)—is expressly stated by him to be caused by the power of Māyā.[162] Though in the writings of Kallaṭa and Utpala we find the superimpositional function of Māyā dimly foreshadowed, we do not see any explicit mention of the process of Adhyāsa, which played such an important part in the doctrine of the sister School of Advaita and formed the very foundation of Śaṅkara's exposition of Māyā. But in the middle of the 10th century it seems that the Advaita School of Gauḍapāda gained a firm footing in the minds of the Trika writers. Thus it is extremely interesting to note that

Rāmakaṇṭha uses the very word ' Adhyavasyan' as synonym of the more general word ' Adhyasyan ' in such remarks as " Ātmānaṃ ca dehādyanitya-bhāvāhaṃbhāvena adhyavasyan janmādibandha-bhāk, etc." Even here he does not stop. To strengthen this position, he actually quotes a Kārikā of Gauḍapāda on Māyā.[163] Another noticeable feature of Rāmakaṇṭha's exposition lies in the fact that in interpreting the principle of Māyā he does not hesitate to utilise the conception of Ajñāna. In the earlier writings of the Tantras and the Śiva Sūtras, as we have seen, the word A-jñāna is seldom used to denote Māyā. Even when it is used it is employed in a rather loose sense. Kallaṭa no doubt uses the word, but does not explain what it definitely means.[164] The definite sense of Ajñāna to denote an effect of Māyā is, therefore, first supplied by Rāmakaṇṭha. He explains Ajñāna as a kind of 'Self-arrogation (Ātmābhimāna) of not-self, such as body, etc., which possess the six-fold characteristics of change or transformation, without knowing the unchangeable nature of the true Self.' In so explaining Ajñāna he also uses the word ' Āropa,' which is characteristically expressive of Adhyāsa.[165] It is, however, not so much his explanation of the processes of Māyā that lies to the credit of Rāma-kaṇṭha as the wonderfully clear and precise term in which he brings out Her real position in the Trika scheme of Tattvas and the relation She

bears to the Supreme Śakti of Śiva. One of the most remarkable results achieved by him with regard to the question of this relation is the conception of Māyā as the 'most wonderful wealth or resource of Śiva's Nature' (Paramādbhutasva vaibhava).[166] Thus, according to him, Māyā is as necessary for the 'completeness' (Pūrṇatva) and Lordship (Īśitṛtva) of Śiva as His Supreme 'inner nature of Cit Śakti.' Hence, on the highest metaphysical ground, unlike the Advaita view, Māyā has a definite *locus standi* in the Highest Reality, Śiva as His Own Śakti (Nijayā eva Māyā-Śaktyā), and not simply an alien power. Equally important with this is the conclusion of Rāmakaṇṭha that this Māyā, the Lord's own power by which He plays eternally in creating myriads and myriads of worlds, cannot in any ultimate sense obscure the true character of Śiva, *i.e.*, His Supreme Saṃvid of all-completing Perfect I-ness.[167] This is so because She is bound to rest Herself for Her very existence and manifestation on this supremely blissful nature of Śiva which She is to obscure. Consequently, paradoxical though it may sound, the most significant and rational conclusion that Rāmakaṇṭha has thus attempted to present before his careful readers is that Māyā really stands on the Supreme Consciousness-nature of Śiva, and from there causes an obscuration of that very Āśraya Cit to be brought about in appearance only, without really running counter to that

Āśraya. Herein lies that 'most wonderful character of bringing forth unthinkable events' (Aghaṭanaghaṭana) of Māyā which is technically called 'Durghaṭatva,' and which in later time was much emphasised by Abhinava Gupta.[168] Strangely enough, this position taken up by Rāmakaṇṭha exactly tallies with that of Sarvajñātman, one of the most prominent writers of the sister School of Advaita, propounded in his famous work the Saṃkshepa Śārīraka. The only difference between them is that Rāmakaṇṭha ascribes highest reality to Māyā as the Lord's own power, whereas Sarvajñātman maintains a sort of illusory relation (Ādhyāsika) between Māyā and Brahman.[169]

After Rāmakaṇṭha, in the earlier part of the 11th century, Abhinava carries this process of development of the Māyā-conception a step further, and connects it with the Supreme Svātantrya-power of the Lord. This attempt to interpret Māyā from the point of view of Svātantrya, which, as we have seen, forms the central part of the system of Trika speculation, is fraught with deep significance. It is only in the Kashmere School that Māyā is looked at from this entirely new point of view. In the six orthodox Schools of Indian Philosophy Abhinava's conception of Māyā as a 'power of self-determination in bringing about the appearance of discrete existence of objects' can seldom be found.[170] To the assertion of Rāmakaṇṭha that Māyā is the Lord's

own power and not something adventitious Abhinava seemed to supply the reason by affirming that it is so because She is nothing but His power of absolute freedom in the manifestation of manifold appearances.' Svātantrya, as we have pointed out before, is explained by Abhinava as the Supreme Vimarśa Śakti. Māyā is a form of Svātantrya. Hence, according to him, Māyā is ultimately an external manifestation of the Supreme Vimarśa Śakti of the Lord Śiva.[171] This emphasis, it may be repeated, on the Svātantrya-nature of Māyā is the most notable feature in Abhinava's treatment. What, it may be asked, does this Svātantrya underlying the conception of Māyā mean? This Svātantrya, replies Abhinava, means the 'unrestricted power of the Lord in accomplishing the extremely difficult task of separating His non-dual Saṃvid into two mutually opposing categories of subject and object of thought.' Māyā, understood in this sense, forms the 'Aiśvarya' of the Lord, defined as Atidurghaṭa-kāritva or the capacity of bringing to pass effects very difficult to produce. Every object, he goes on to explain, is a part and parcel of the Supreme Cit of Self-illumination.[172] Even to a limited cogniser in the stage of undetermined cognition a pitcher appears to be invested with a pervasive and undetermined character. But such cognition of a pitcher cannot serve any pragmatic interest (Artha-kriyā). So the Lord evolves out

of His free nature the activity of Māyā, and cuts into different sections the objects which are really all-filling by negating them from the perceiving Self and Pratiyogi (other objects from which they are separately cognised).[173] It is due to this negating function of Māyā that a Māyāpramātā comes to have determinate cognition of a pitcher such as 'It is a pitcher alone.' She thus introduces a three-fold distinction in knowledge, *viz.* :— (1) the distinction of objects from one another, (2) the distinction of objects from the cognising self, and (3) the distinction of one cognising self from another.[174] This tripartite distinction introduced into the content of the one Supreme undivided Saṃvid naturally presupposes a certain 'free activity' of a supremely higher kind (Para-Svātantrya). Consequently, Abhinava describes Māyā Śakti as 'that Supreme freedom of Parameśvara through the instrumentality whereof He makes manifest the Paśu stage (conditioned soul) by first bringing into the upper level the aspect of the enjoyer (Bhoktṛtva) and then through the latter that of the objects of enjoyment (Bhogyatva).'[175] The main difference, therefore, between the Māyā Śakti of the Kashmere School and the Anirvacanīyā Māyā of the Advaita School consists in the fact that according to the Trika Māyā is nothing but a 'highly synthesised power of freedom' of Maheśvara, whose nature of Saṃvid has no real character of one-ness (Vāstavamekatvaṃ) in

opposition to plurality. Hence, according to the Kashmere School, Māyā is perfectly describable (or definable) both from the point of view of her true form (Svarūpataḥ) and that of Her ultimate originating cause (Kāraṇataḥ). So she is not Anirvacanīyā Avidyā of the strict Advaita, which baffles all attempts at rational determination. It is for this reason that the Trika writers do not resort to any of the five well-known 'Khyātis' [176] (or theories of explaining false knowledge) in explaining the Māyic world of multiplicity and distinctions (Anekatva and Bheda), but fall back upon an altogether new conception of 'Khyāti,' to which they give the special name of 'Apūrṇa-Khyāti' or positive Ne-science of the completeness of things, thus freeing themselves from the trammels of the ever-elusive doctrine of Anirvacanīyā-Khyāti. Māyā in the Trika view is not, therefore, an error (Bhrānti) of Ne-science, indescribable as either existent or non-existent (Sadasadbhyām anirvacanīyam), but an error of Ne-science consisting in incompleteness (Apūrṇakhyātirūpā Bhrāntiḥ), in so far as She does not manifest properly that which ought to be explicitly apprehended in completeness to the last degree of Vimarśa (or complete I-ness).[177] Now the objection may be raised that on the acceptance of this explanation of Māyā the apprehension of a piece of real silver as such would also be an error of non-complete apprehension. Exactly so, is the answer given by the

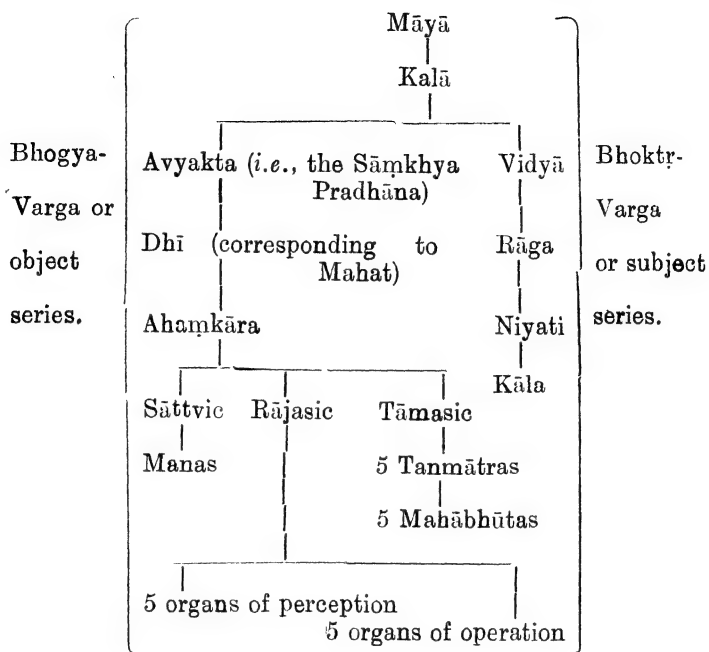
Trikavādin. If the antagonist further objects that the whole world of objects then becomes an error (Bhrānti), the Trikavādin replies that it is perfectly true that the entire world of cognisable objects, as it comes under the purview of Māyā (or Apūrṇa Khyāti), becomes a kind of 'error whole and entire.' Within this world of Supreme Error of Māyā there come to be included other smaller errors, such as in the case of singly perceived objects or the taking of mother-of-pearls for a piece of silver. Such cases of errors comprehended in the Supreme Cosmic Error of Māyā the Trikavādin tries to illustrate by the example of a 'dream within a dream.' [178] It is from this Trika position that Abhinava directs a strong polemic against the Advaitin's Avidyā or Māyā in the following terms :—

[179] "If you say that the exclusive one-ness (ekatva) of the Cit-Principle is His real nature (Vāstavam) whereas multiplicity (Bheda) is due to an overflow (upaplava) of Avidyā, we ask with regard to whom is this overflow of Avidyā? It cannot be said of Brahman, because He is of the nature of Pure Knowledge. Nothing else, as Jīva, etc., really exists by His side to which Avidyā can be ascribed. If you say that Avidyā is indeterminable (Anirvacanīyā), we do not understand to whom it is so. If you urge that Avidyā appears (Bhāsate) in Her proper form (Svarūpeṇa), but is not determinable, you are but talking

nonsense. If again, you maintain that She is indeterminable because She cannot be grasped by reason, we ask: Of what avail is that reason (Yukti) which runs counter to one's inner experience (Saṃvedana), and what impossibility (Anupapatti) can there be in an actual phenomenon? If you reply that Brahman is of the nature of the Existent and is at the same time non-distinct, and distinctions arise only by the force of Vikalpa or constructive imagination, we ask: To whom does this activity of Vikalpa or imaginative construction apply? It cannot belong to Brahman (nothing else being existent at the time). Moreover, you cannot draw a strict line of demarcation between Avikalpaka (that which is not constructed by imagination) as truth and Vikalpaka as untruth, as both of them equally possess the character of manifestability (*i.e.*, are equally manifested—Bhāsamānatva). If you say that distinction (Bheda) is contradicted or negatively obstructed (Bādha) in experience despite its appearance, we reply that the same remark applies also to non-distinction (Abheda), inasmuch as Bādha or obstruction means the rising up of a reverse form of knowledge. If this obstruction can be a real one only because it manifests itself, why cannot distinction for that very reason be true and not Avidyā? If you say that this non-distinction holds good as it is based on the testimony of Scriptural texts alone, we reply

that Scriptural texts are also not real (in the highest sense), as they, too, presuppose the fundamental distinction (of the divisions) of the cogniser, the cognisable, and the cognition. Hence, the whole thesis of Anirvacanīyā Avidyā falls to the ground.'' [180]

Māyā and her Evolutes.

Māyā Śakti, as has been shown before, is the mother of all distinctions (Bhedaprasūti) that the fettered soul perceives, *viz.* :—(1) the distinction of the cogniser from the cognisable, (2) the distinction of one cognising self from another, and lastly (3) the distinction between the cognisable objects themselves—in spite of the fact that all phenomena, irrespective of their mutual distinctions, proceed from the same Self-determined Śakti (Icchā) of Śiva the Lord. Hence She is conceived in the Trika as a 'Grand Matrix' out of whose stuff are moulded and shaped in a way all the thirty-six categories from Śiva to Kshiti. But strictly speaking, the evolutes of Māyā are only the five sheaths of Kalā, Vidyā, Rāga, Niyati and Kāla and the twenty-four principles enumerated in the Sāṃkhya system. For an easy understanding of these Tattvas which flow out from Māyā as Her progeny we give below a table, following the order in which they are enumerated in the Mālinīvijayottara :—

A glance at the above table will show that the Trika adopts the Sāṃkhya categories of Prakṛti, Mahat, etc., and also the general plan of its analysis of the 'Psycho-physical Whole.' But unlike the Sāṃkhya, which leaves a wide chasm of irreconcilability of mutual interaction between Prakṛti and Purusha by treating them as two entirely independent entities of matter and consciousness, the Trika overcomes the difficulty by bringing Prakṛti under the higher Cetana principle of the Kalā Śakti, a form of Śiva's Supreme Will-activity. In this manner deducing Prakṛti from Kalā the Trika avoids the inevitable

Sāṃkhya error of the arbitrary introduction of an external agent, Purusha, otherwise unnecessary, for the disturbance of the equilibrium of Her constituent Guṇas. This question we shall discuss more fully elsewhere. Let us now look into the meaning and inter-relation of these five categories, which are called Kañcukas. Mālinīvijaya seems to take Kalā in the sense of a 'capacity of limited agent-activity' (Kiñcit-kartṛtva), which flows out of Māyā and by virtue of which an individual soul feels himself to be a doer with a limited field of activity. It is, in other words, because of its operation that a Paśu is compelled to put forth its activity under restrictive conditions and cannot do everything.[181]

Next to Kalā is born Vidyā, which means the 'capacity (Sāmarthya) which determines an individual's field of knowledge.'[182] It is through her that a person feels that he knows some things only and not all (Kiñcit jānāmi iti). According to Abhinava, the function of Vidyā is to discriminate (Vivecana) objects of knowledge such as 'blue,' 'pleasure,' etc., which are reflected on the mirror of Buddhi (Intellect).[183] As to the reason why this discriminative function is attributed to such a separate principle as Vidyā and not to Buddhi, which, according to Sāṃkhya, is the proper faculty of discrimination, Abhinava argues that Buddhi constituted as She is by a collocation of the conflicting Guṇas is Jaḍa or

inert matter, and, therefore, cannot discriminate herself, not to speak of discriminating objects of knowledge as pleasurable, painful or deluding (Mohātmaka).[184] The relation between Kalā and Vidyā is one of co-presence. Every activity presupposes knowledge as a necessary condition. Kartṛtva or agent-activity is impossible without a knowledge of the doer himself. Hence, Kalā or the 'Māyic capacity of imperfect action' naturally involves Vidyā or the capacity of imperfect knowledge. The most interesting point to be noticed in Abhinava's exposition of Vidyā is his affirmation of the insufficiency of the Sāṃkhya conception of Buddhi as a passive product of Prakṛti so far as the function of intellectual discrimination of objects and sense-instruments in cognition is concerned. This enables one to see clearly how far the Trikavādin goes hand in hand with the Sāṃkhya and where he parts company. He goes with Sāṃkhya so far as the mere presentation of objects constituted of Sukha, etc. (Sāttvic mode, etc. , by Buddhi is concerned. But he disagrees with him where the question of definite determination arises, because the Viveka of an object perceived as pleasurable as distinguished from another object perceived before as painful requires a certain 'mental act of rejoining' (Anusandhāna), which Buddhi, a purely material principle, cannot accomplish.[185] On the contrary, Vidyā can perform

this function, as She is not substantially different from Māyā, which is not ultimately dissociated from the Cit-nature of Śiva. Even assuming the reflection of the consciousness of Purusha on Buddhi, which is transparent like a mirror, this difficulty from the Trika point of view cannot be solved, for the simple reason that even then an actual relegation of Purusha's essential character of consciousness (Cetanatva) to the mirror of Buddhi cannot be proved.[186] It may be seen that this difficulty is at bottom the main difficulty of the Sāṃkhya system, which holds Prakṛti and Purusha in extreme antithetical relation with no common ground between them to make interaction possible.

Next to Vidyā is born Rāga, which is explained as attachment (Abhishaṅga) to worldly objects. It is that which lends its colour, as it were, to objects (Rañjayati) and makes them appear in a favourable light, though as a matter of fact they may be just the opposite. Hence Rāga consists in a capacity of super-imposing pleasurable or other characters (Guṇāropaṇa-maya) on the cogniser as well as on the bodies, senses, etc., which are cognised.[187] Here, too, the Trika makes another departure from the Sāṃkhya, which considers Rāga as one of the properties of Buddhi defined as Avairāgya or non-dispassion. Rāga, in this school, understood as a Māyic power inhering in a person in the form of an 'inner

longing' for something other than himself (Kiñcit me bhūyāt) more deeply than mere Avairāgya,[188] which is a temporary attitude of the intellect. Rāga is related to Kalā and Vidyā in the sense that without it an individual cannot have imperfection of knowledge and activity only with reference to certain fixed objects such as body, etc., which people perceive in the every-day experiences of life (Pratiniyatavastu-paryavasāyi).[189] It is precisely for this reason that Rāga has to be admitted as a category besides Kalā and Vidyā.

After Rāga, Māyā gives birth to the fourth Tattva, called Niyati. Niyati, derived from the root 'Yam' with the prefix 'ni,' means etymologically a kind of 'regulation' that such and such effects should follow only such and such causes and not others. According to Mālinī, it is the power of Niyati that causes an individual soul to be attached to his own actions, and not to those of another soul.[190] The regulative function of Niyati in determining the pragmatic interests of life (Niyatārtha-kriyā) can be observed even in the every-day activities of people. A person, for instance, who wants to cook procures fire and not a brick-bat ; and also a person desirous of gaining heaven performs only the Jyotishṭoma and not the Śyena sacrifice.[191] This 'fixed determination' cannot be an inherent quality of causes or effects themselves, because by

themselves they are unconscious (Jaḍa). Hence they require the aid of an active will-agent to bring them under a schematic order. This is the reason why Niyati is regarded as a principle besides the three mentioned above. In the opinion of Abhinava, it is this Niyati that brings the two phenomena of cause and effect, such as fire and smoke, under an essential relation of invariable sequence (Avinābhāva-sambandha).[192] In other words, it is due to the working of this Śakti that a phenomenon which is a cause behaves itself in such a uniformly special way in relation to another which is its effect that wherever the latter appears the former must also present itself. Later in the 11th century, Yogarāja goes even further, and maintains that Niyati not only exercises a power of control in the region of causality but also controls the sense-organs of a Kshetrajña (knower of the field of knowledge), limiting their activity within a narrow field of certain special objects in special points of time. Hence, according to him, the individual soul circumscribed by Niyati can receive with his sense-instruments only some objects, and not all at a time. But the souls who have realised their fundamental identity with Śiva (Rudrapramātṛ) can employ their senses unchecked, and thus superseding the control of Niyati they are able to know all and do all in one single moment of an 'eternal now,' as it were.[193] Niyati thus carries out a two-fold function of specific regulation, *viz.* :—

(1) the specific determination of causes and effects, and (2) the determination of the specific energy of different sense-organs. Pre-eminently a principle of specific determination, Niyati is more or less implied in all the other four principles, because they all carry out their respective functions of limitation only through a process of 'fixed determination' of their objects by negating them from their opposites (which means Niyati).

After Niyati comes out of the womb of Māyā Kāla, the fifth principle of determination. Kāla is that Māyic power of limitation which breaks away, as it were, from the continuous chain of appearances the constituent links of temporal instants, makes them appear in the discontinuous form of past, present and future, and thus gives rise in the mind of the Pramātā to what we call the idea of temporal succession (Krama). Then from his mind the Pramātā superimposes this idea on the objects of the extra-mental world, and comes to have such feelings as : 'I who was lean have now become plump, and shall continue to be more so in future.'[194] The relation of such a power as Kāla, which introduces the element of succession into the grouped mass of our feelings and sensations, to the above four principles is quite evident. In all movements of the individual, whether in action, discrimination, longing, or specific determination, the indispensable element of time-succession is involved as a pre-requisite condition.

One important point that can hardly be overlooked in connection with this order of Tāttvic evolution according to Mālinī is that a logical character of causality is attributed to it, so that every category which precedes is causally related to that which follows it.[195] The special value of this scheme of Tattvas presented by Mālinī seems to consist in two facts, *viz.* :—(1) that this causal character serves to bring out clearly the idea of a perfect inter-relation which exists amongst the evolutes, and (2) that it also brings into a greater prominence the idea of Kalā Śakti by showing her as the effect directly produced by Māyā and not through an intermediary principle like the other Tattvas. It may be noted here that this scheme of Mālinī slightly differs from that presented in Svacchanda, an equally authoritative Tāntric work of the Trika. According to Svacchanda, not only Kalā but also the other four Tattvas are born directly out of Māyā.[196] But Abhinava is more inclined to the scheme of Mālinī, on the ground that, though these principles anticipate one another in a way, it is better to take Kalā as the first product of Māyā and the generator at the same time of all the other four, because Kalā as the power of agent-activity (in limitation) is a condition without which Māyā cannot produce the other four principles.[197] Comparing the relative importance of these five categories, we find that Kalā is the most important of all. As the Śakti of a

conditioned agent, She unites in Herself in the form of a sprout slightly swollen both the universes of the 'enjoyer' (Bhoktṛ) and the 'enjoyed' (Bhogya). The great point about Her is that She is nothing but a form of Śiva's Supreme Will, and therefore not an unconscious inert principle, like Prakṛti. Her very definition as "Kiñcidrūpatāviśishṭaṃ Kartṛtvam" implies that She consists of the same stuff as the Supreme Svātantrya Śakti of Śiva. Now, this definition when analysed reveals two parts, *viz.* :—(1) Kartṛtva—the subject, and (2) Kiñcittva—the predicate specifying the subject. The subject portion of the definition points out the 'enjoyer' aspect of Kalā's inner content, because to be active as an agent means to be an 'enjoyer.' The predicate portion Kiñcit (something), meaning the ground or object upon which the enjoyer has to act in order to experience himself as an agent (Kartṛ), indicates the 'enjoyed' or object-aspect of Her content.[198] By a process of gradual alienation of the 'enjoyer' portion from the whole content, She gives birth to the subject-series of Vidyā, Rāga, Niyati, and Kāla. Then simultaneously with Vidyā, etc., She produces by the same process the object-series of Prakṛti and Her evolutes. Thus we can easily understand how the Sāṃkhya Pradhāna or Root-Evolvent is made to fit in harmoniously with the Trika scheme by being subordinated to the higher Will-force of Kalā, which holds in synthesis the opposing

principles of consciousness and un-consciousness (*i.e.*, materiality). We can also see how by the admission of Kalā Śakti the Trika is not forced to maintain like the Sāṃkhya an influence almost *ex-abrupto* on Prakṛiti of such a 'lame' principle as the Purusha, but how, on the other hand, the whole process of ideal (Bhoktṛ-Sarga) and material evolution is more cogently traced to the 'immanent working' of a Supreme Will tending to express itself.

Let us now pass on from the question of the nature of Kalā, and examine more closely that of all the five principles which so tenaciously cling to the individual soul as a kind of 'tight jacket' (Kañcuka) and cause him to be stripped of all his innate potentialities (Apahṛtaiśvarya-sarvasva).[199] Here a slight difference of opinion amongst Trika writers of different periods becomes noticeable.

In the 9th century Kallaṭa identified Her with the Kriyā Śakti of Śiva, which, according to him, enters into the individual soul unknown to him and without losing Her fundamental Cit-nature carries out Her function of 'narrowing down.'[200] On the contrary, Abhinava about 1000 A.D. identified them with the Icchā Śakti of Śiva, which, according to him, is prior to Kriyā in the order of manifestation.[201] After Abhinava in the 11th century, Bhāskara, commenting on the Śiva Sūtras, seems to have traced their origin not directly from Kriyā Śakti but through Mātṛkā Śakti, a manifestation

of the latter.[202] These apparently conflicting views can be easily reconciled if we remember that according to the Trika School there is no difference between Icchā and Kriyā of Siva so far as their common substance is concerned. The latter, as we have said before, is regarded only as a further externalisation of the former in the order of evolution.

In the 18th century a rather interesting account of the nature of these categories is given by Sivopādhyāya in his commentary on the Vijñānabhairava. The most noticeable feature in that account consists in the fact that he does not attempt to derive their real nature from either Icchā or Kriyā, but goes straight to the very root of all Saktis, *viz.* :—the Svātantrya Sakti, under Her specific title Unmanā.[203] The Supreme Unmanā Sakti of Siva, he explains, enters into Kalā, which again specialises Herself at every stage of evolution up to the earth (Bhuvana) and gathers up within Her folds the six-fold path of Vācya and Vācaka, *viz.* :—Kalā, Tattvas, the Earth, and Varṇa, Mantra and Pada.[204] By Mañjunātha, a spiritual disciple of Abhinava Gupta, a manuscript of whose short Trika treatise entitled " A Mirror of the 36 Tattvas " has been unearthed from Travancore in the extreme South of India, these five Māyic categories are looked at from the point of view of their function of ' narrowing down' the five Saktis of the eternally emancipated Siva, *viz.*,

—Omnipotence (Sarvakartṛtva), Omniscience (Sarvajñatva), All-completeness (Pūrṇatva), Everlastingness (Nityatva), and All-reachingness (Vyāpakatva). According to him, when Śiva's power of omnipotence is narrowed in its extent owing to ignorance of Jīva, She appears in the rôle of Kalā ; when the power of Supreme Omniscience is so limited, She takes the form of Vidyā, and so forth.[205] Thus, according to the Trika the Paśu has at bottom all the five potentialities of Śiva just mentioned. When this grand truth of his essential unity with Śakti or the nature of Śiva dawns upon him through the gracious instruction and initiation of a Guru, these fetters of the five Śaktis, instead of keeping him "cribbed, cabined, and confined," become purified, and lead him to the right path of Salvation. On such an enlightened devotee Kalā Śakti bestows the power of performing religious duties such as worshipping the deity and meditating on Him ; Vidyā, instead of limiting his discriminative power, confers the higher power of spiritual discrimination (Tāttvic Viveka); Rāga, instead of causing attachment to the fleeting objects of the world, engenders Bhakti or the true attachment to the Supreme Reality ; Niyati, undergoing a thorough transformation, attaches him to devotional exercises ; and Kāla, similarly transformed, enables him to establish a synthetic character in all the successive teachings of preceptors of different ages.[206]

Mātṛkā—The Śakti inherent in Mantras.

The idea of Parā Śakti assuming the form of Mātṛkā or energy residing in a latent condition within the letters of a Mantra or mystic syllables forms by no means an unimportant doctrine in the Śaiva School of Kashmere. We need not go very far to look for its reason. Its significance as Mantra Śakti becomes clear if we keep in view the fact that the Trika, like almost all the other religious systems of India, such as Vaishṇavism, Āgamic Śaivism, Tāntric Śāktaism, etc., attached a good deal of importance to the utterance of Mantras while concentrating on their meaning. That this esoteric side of mystic spiritual exercises with the help of certain Mantras or mystic formulæ was considerably developed alongside with its philosophical tenets and ideas can be easily ascertained by a reference to such Tāntric works as the Mālinī, Svacchanda, and Vijñānabhairava.[207] As the Āgamic Śaivas had their one all-important Mantra called the Haṃsa Mantra, the Pāñcarātrins their Sudarśana or the eight-syllabled Mantra, the Bengal Vaishṇavas their bījamantra 'Om namaḥ Kṛshṇāya,' the Advaitins their 'Great Sentence' (Mahāvākya) 'So'ham' and so forth, so the Trika Śaivas had also their Mahā-Mantra.[208] So far as the mere discussion of Mantra as imbued with Divine Energy is concerned, the Trika has nothing to say that is peculiarly her

own. But the most interesting feature in her treatment of this subject of Mantra from a Śākta stand point consists in the fact that she endeavours to raise the whole question of the power and significance of Mantras to a firmer footing by establishing an essential connection with the highest principle of the system, *viz.*, Vimarśa Śakti.

Before proceeding to investigate this specific manifestation of Śakti, it is necessary to remember that, although this idea of Mātṛkā Śakti as the origin of all Mantras with their constituent letters is common to such systems as the Āgamic Śaivism the Pāñcarātra, the Bengal Tāntricism, etc., they hardly attempt to give a rational and systematic basis to the whole subject by showing how this conception of Śakti as a power behind the Mantras follows logically from the highest metaphysical ground of the system. These systems present Mātṛkā as a special mode of divine energy in the Mantras, and seek to enumerate her different forms. Pāñcarātra treatises, for example, seldom attempt to discuss philosophically this Śakti of Mātṛkā.[209] In the Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā—a Pāñcarātra work of authority—we find that Mātṛkā as a Śakti is merely asserted. There she is explained as the mother of all mantras, the latter being her physical embodiment. This work, apart from Mantra-Mātṛkā, gives us a further physical description of Varṇa-Mātṛkā, *i.e.*, a Śakti of Nārāyaṇa residing in each letter of a

mantra.[210] Although the Pādma Tantra devotes a long chapter to the subject, its treatment is not very philosophical. Only the Lakshmī Tantra contains one or two chapters on Mātṛkā where an attempt is made to explain her philosophically from the Pāñcarātra view point of Śakti.[211] In Tāntric works, such for example as the celebrated Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, we indeed find her several times mentioned, but a properly reasoned-out explanation of her significance and place in the system as a whole is hardly attempted. In the 9th Ullāsa, for instance, only an enumeration of the 16 forms is given in connection with the Ṛtu Saṃskāra, when they are invoked after the worship of the five deities.[212] Turning from the Tantras to the Āgamas, we do not find very much of an explanation of this Śakti in the texts which are available, except a sort of passing reference in the Kāmika and the Paushkara. In the Kāmika Mātṛkā is touched upon in the Mantroddhāra Paṭala. There again she is spoken of as only the primary mantra of all mantras (Sarvamantrāṇām mukhya-bhūtā), by whose help every object of desire can be accomplished.[213] In the Paushkara she is only once mentioned in the 8th paṭala, dealing with the origin of Tantras and mantras. There, too, she is spoken of as a Śakti of Śiva, who is the omniscient mother of the universe of speech (Vāṅmayaṃ jagat).[214] Mṛgendra, however, has nothing to say on this Śakti. The Āgamic treatment of this

question we shall have occasion to discuss in our chapter on Śakti in the Śaiva Āgamas.

With this preliminary survey let us proceed to our subject-matter. Apart from the Kashmere Tāntric works, we find the word Mātṛkā used for the first time by Vasu Gupta in the Śiva Sūtras. Here the word occurs in two sūtras, *viz.* :—Jñānādhishṭhānaṃ mātṛkā and Mātṛkā-chakra-sambodhaḥ. The first Sūtra gives us a sort of definition of Mātṛkā as that Śakti which acts as the repository of all cognitive knowledge of distinction and non-distinction (Bhedaprathā and Abhedaprathā). Considering this Sūtra in its order of sequence with the previous one, "Yonivargaḥ Kalā-Śarīram," where 'Yonivarga' is explained by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara as meaning the four Śaktis of Ambā, Jyeshṭhā, Raudrī and Vāmā presiding over the letters of the alphabet from *A* to *Ksha*,[215] it may be said that possibly Vasu Gupta intended to convey the idea of the Mātṛkā being the one identical Śakti presiding over these Śakti-forms. The second Sūtra seems to indicate a circular conception of Mātṛkā as the centre of a wheel (cakra) whose circumference is formed by the four above-mentioned Śaktis comprehending the alphabetical letters. Besides this meagre description, Vasu Gupta does not seem to throw much light on this Śakti. In the Sūtras promulgated by him we do not find, as in later times, any indication as

to what necessary connection she bears to any of the three primary Śaktis—Icchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā. This point, which he left unnoticed, was developed by the subsequent writers. After Vasu Gupta, Kallaṭa in his Vṛtti on the Spanda Kārikās seeks to identify Mātṛkā with the Kriyā Śakti of Śiva, whose business, as pointed out before, is to keep the soul in fetters of bondage after stripping off his garb of innate potentialities by means of letters (*i.e.*, through speech), whence arise all forms of distinctive cognition.[216] Though Kallaṭa does not mention the exact term Mātṛkā, yet the fact that he has this Śakti before his mind when explaining the limiting influence of Kriyā Śakti becomes quite clear if his comments on the Kārikās 45-48 are read together as one piece. This identification of Mātṛkā with Kriyā Śakti, marking a distinct advance upon the ideas of Vasu Gupta, is a matter of utmost importance, because it enables us, as we shall see later on, to assign her exact position in the whole system. After Kallaṭa, Rāmakaṇṭha in commenting on the 18th Kārikā of the 4th section of Spanda seems to bring out another point of vital interest, namely, the connection of Mātṛkā with the Supreme Vimarśa Śakti manifested in the region of discursive thought as Parā Vāk[216] Like Kallaṭa he identifies her with Kriyā Śakti; but at the same time he attempts to show that in her character of an embodiment of the lord (Aiśvara

Vigrāha) she is presupposed as a sustainer (Samāśraya) of the four kinds of speech. Though she is inherent in all the different grades of Vāk Rāmakaṇṭha seems to be more inclined to connect her specially with the last and grossest stage, Vaikharī. He does this because the Paśyantī and Madhyamā are pre-eminently the manifestations of Jñāna and Icchā.[218] It is the Vaikharī alone which involves an actual effort of breath touching the different speech-organs, so as to result in the utterance of different kinds of letters, which means a manifestation of Kriyā Śakti.

This line of thought upon Vāk, it is needless to mention, is traceable to some extent also in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads.[219] But the fact which stands out as a typical Trika view regarding Vāk is that she is not simply looked at as articulated speech generated from an effort of breath coming through the larynx-box and striking against the different organs of speech, but as a kind *of living intra-organic force*—not a mere physiological process, but a Supremely Intelligent Entity by herself. Accord-ding to Trika, Vāk before she comes to be expressed in actual vocable letters can hardly be distinguished from thought. As for example, when a person is just on the point of uttering 'ghaṭa' (a jar), the word, *i.e.*, the speech-elements (not the letters 'Gha' and 'ṭa'), is still within him indissolubly associated with its correlative

idea of a jar. Practically, every bit of speech before we give expression to it is inextricably bound up with a disorganised mass of thoughts and ideas not yet formed into definite shapes. To speak in words constituted by letters, therefore, means simply an act of disentanglement of the idea of a definite thing from the confused mass of indeterminate ideas, all in a state of perfect coalescence. Consequently, according to Rāmakaṇṭha, this Mātṛka Śakti, or Parā Vāk, which, as we have seen before, is at bottom the supreme Vimarśa Śakti, radiates as speech in two different ways, namely, as Eternal (Nityā) in the form of Mantras and Śāstras, and non-eternal in the form of language serving the ordinary purposes of life.[220] To be able to grasp the essential point of Mātṛkā's identity with the Supreme 'All-transcending' speech (Parā Vāk), it is necessary to consider, in the first instance, the theory of the gradual manifestation of Vāk through the three stages of Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī—a theory which is more or less inherited from Vedic sources by almost all the religious systems of India.

Vedic Origin of Vāk Doctrine.

This idea of the four-fold division of Vāk or speech-energy is indeed of very ancient origin. It can be traced to such an early period of Vedic antiquity as that of the Ṛg Veda, first Maṇḍala.

As an illustration we need only look at the following translation of the 45th verse of hymn 164 of the same Maṇḍala :—" Vāk is measured in four divisions. Them only those Brāhmaṇas know who possess keen intelligence. Three quarters of her are concealed in the cave (of Buddhi?) and cannot be perceived. It is only the speech of the fourth kind that men utter.'' [221] To take the example of ghaṭa, again, just before it was uttered it already remained within the speaker not as a particular kind of sound represented by the word 'Ghaṭa' but mixed up with a world of innumerable other ideas, from which the speaker could not yet distinguish it in the form of a judgment as ' This is a jar' (Ayaṃ ghaṭaḥ). Thus speech articulate, which is composed of words formed by a combination of letters in different orders expressed in the form of a judgment, means a breaking up of this original unity of ' Total Experience' into the two-fold aspects of the predicate, which stands for the idea (Vācaka) and the subject, which stands for the corresponding objective reality (Vācya).[222] Hence ' thoughts ' or ideas which express, or to be more accurate, 'speak of' (Vakti or Abhidadhāti) and things or objects expressed are from the Trika stand point of Monistic Idealism one and undivided in the ultimate ground of the unity of Thought and Experience. Now, according to Trika, this process of breaking up of the 'Original universe of unified reality' into

the two distinct but correlated universes of Vācya Vācaka must necessarily presuppose the internal activity of a living intelligent principle, which thus branches off into two seemingly opposite directions. This 'Energy of ideational movement' at the back of all speech-activity the Trika styles Parā Vāk or Vimarśa or Mātṛkā.

Upanishadic Theory of Prāṇa Śakti.

It may not be out of place here to point out that the Trika possibly received a suggestive hint as to this idea of the play of a Śakti at the back of the Universe of speech from the Vedic theory of Prāṇa (Breath). For according to some Upanishads Prāṇa in the three-fold forms of cosmic (Ādhibhautika), intra-organic (Ādhyātmika), and celestial (Ādhidaivika) energy builds up the universe of Vācya (Experience) and Vācaka (Thought). As a principle of energy dwelling in the physical body, Prāṇa (as Mukhyaprāṇa) is said to build up the sense-organs, and also to give rise to the specific differentiation of their functions.[223] So the Upanishadic doctrine is that Prāṇa is also the life-giving principle at the basis of the human organ of speech. Indeed, Prāṇa weaves the whole world of multi-coloured objects into a fine fabric by means of a long thread of Nāmans or Śabdas knitting together the diverse phenomena of bewildering complexity.[224] Thus

through the medium of the conception of Prāṇa Aupanishadic thought partially grasped the ultimate truth of the fundamental unity of Thought and Reality (Vācya and Vācaka). But the Upanishads could not very well conceive Prāṇa as a conscious Power of Supreme Intelligence (*Cit*-Śakti or Vimarśa). So they had to bring in the further unifying idea of a higher principle of Consciousness, *viz.* —Brahman, whom they called the Prāṇa of Prāṇa (Prāṇasya prāṇah). Like this Upanishadic line of thought, the Trika did not stop at such a materialistic connection of Prāṇa Energy, but went right up to the very root of all forms of energy—which is the Supreme Intelligence—and identified it with Mātṛkā Let us now look into the significance of these four divisions of Vāk. Parā Vāk, according to Trika, is nothing but Vimarśa Śakti. This equation is one of the most positive results which it attains in the course of its careful and laborious investigations. Vimarśa, as is fully explained before, is nothing but the 'conscious reflection of Perfect Egoity.' Parā, therefore, is not strictly speaking a stage of Vāk in the sense of a manifested condition, but is so called only to indicate her extremely subtle nature in comparison with the stages that follow. As Vimarśa she has, it may be repeated, the characteristic of an 'infinitely subtle kind of speech' (Śabdana), or something in the nature of an 'inner discourse' (Abhijalpa),

having in her womb, as it were, the Nāda or or 'Absolute thought' as the root-principle of all forms of uttered sounds.[225] This Vāk is just like the calm and glassy surface of a great ocean before a tempest begins to break out, when no change or disturbance such as billows, foam or bubbles is to be found. Or to use a happy Trika simile, Parā in that perfectly undifferentiated character is like liquid within a peacock's egg (Mayūrāṇḍarasavat), where the different limbs of the bird with the variegated colour of its feathers remain in a form of total non-distinction.[226] The entire range of sounds (Śabdarāśi) and the extensive body of scriptures all lie dormant in her womb, without any division of Pada (word), Vākya (sentence), etc., the different elements of speech. How Vāk in this transcendental character is to be connected with Vimarśa has been elaborately explained at the beginning of our account of this School. To establish this Vimarśa nature Abhinava, we repeat, explained her etymologically as "She who speaks out (vakti) the universe (Viśvam) as it were, by means of Pratyavamarśa or a kind of 'suppressed internal discourse involving self-cognition.'"[227] Needless to say, in this all-transcending nature of Śakti or energy in suspension Vāk so completely shades off into the Supreme Cit (Cidekaśaraṇā) that her character of Śabdana or Abhijalpa can hardly be dintinguished. The next stage is Paśyantī. She contains within

herself in a highly subtle and self-luminous condition (Antaḥ-samujjvalā) all the various sounds not yet cognised as different letters (Varṇarūpānusandhāna-virahā). It is the condition in which Supreme Energy stimulated by her self-dependence (Sva-svātantrya) is willing to be externalised, with the result that she as a self-luminous seer envisages, as it were, the whole course of her evolution as the universe of objects (Vācya), which has not yet clearly taken up the Vācya-Vācaka order (Krama). In this stage, therefore, the division of Vāk into the two factors of Thought and Experience is still in a germinal state.[228] Then Vāk in the course of her evolution passes on from the undifferentiated Paśyantī into the next stage called Madhyamā. In this condition the order of Vācya and Vācaka is neither fully developed nor completely unevolved, but is capable of being dimly perceived by the intellect only. She is called Madhyamā or the Middle because she stands as a link between the Paśyantī on the one hand and the fully differentiated Vaikharī on the other. According to the Paushkara Āgama, Madhyamā is beyond the guidance of Prāṇa Vāyu.[229] This stage is explained by Ananta śakti, a Trika writer, who flourished later than the 12th century, by the beautiful illustration of the pod holding the grain (Śimbikā-phala-nyāyena).[230] The characteristics of Madhyamā are thus explained by him in his gloss on the sūtras

of Vātūlanātha :— ' It (Parā) assumes the name of Madhyamā when it has entered the stage of the Buddhi acting as determinative of the series of desires and ideas, and holds the group of letters in itself, as the pod does the grains." The last and the grossest stage is called Vaikharī. She is so called because she is generated through the body (Vikhara). In this stage she is produced by the guidance of Prāṇa and Udāna, and, striking against the different vocal organs, such as heart, throat, etc., comes to be expressed as gross syllables. Thus in this stage the order of manifestation as Thought and Experience and their mutual distinction become completely clear.[231] According to Rāmakaṇṭha all these stages of Vāk are at bottom nothing but a 'streaming forth' (Prasara) of the Supreme Śakti of Śiva, who never loses Her essential character of conscious reflection of Perfect Egoity (Svabhāva-pratyava-marśa). Now that the meaning of the three kinds of Vāk has been fully explained, it may not be difficult to understand why some Trika writers seek to identify them with the primary manifestations of Icchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā. On this point there seems to be a divergence of opinion amongst Trika writers as to which of these forms of Vāk is to be taken as Mātṛkā. Rāmakaṇṭha, as pointed out above, is inclined to take Mātṛkā as the Vaikharī Vāk. Abhinava, on the contrary, does not wish to come down to this gross stage of

fourth speech but seems to be more inclined to identify her with the subtlest form of Parā, when objectivity is just beginning to cast a pale shadow over her (Āmṛśyacchāyayā yuktā).[232] From all these discussions there emerges one important point which should be borne in mind, namely, that the Trika recognises Mātṛkā ultimately as the Parā Śakti in an undisturbed condition (Akshubdhā), which always acts in conjunction with the Supreme Cogniser (Parapramātā), Śiva. The name Mātṛkā as the repository of distinctive cognitions is given to her only from the standpoint of Paśu, because he does not know her in her true character as an ultimate source (Yoni) of all mantras and Vidyās. Hence, Kshemarāja and other Trika writers explain her etymologically from the word Mātṛ and the 'taddhita' affix 'Ka' added in the sense of 'not known' (Pāṇini V. iii. 73).[233] The consideration of Mātṛkā naturally leads us to another problem which is so closely connected with her that we can ill afford to pass it by. This is the problem of mantras, of whom Mātṛkā is the ' Great Source.' But for this we need not go into the infinite details of Mantra-practice, which are rather meaningless to one not initiated into their mysteries.[234] Our business here is only to understand the *raison d' être* of the subject of Mantra-Śakti in so far as it is to be explained in harmony with the main principle of Trika, *i.e.*, Vimarśa.

Meaning of Mantra in Trika : Citta.

The word Mantra, as can be easily seen, comes from the root *Man* and the affix *tra* ; but Trika writers fancifully derive *tra* from the root *trai*, 'to redeem.' Hence, Mantra literally means, according to them, 'that which redeems a person who meditates on it.'[235] But the Trika went far beyond this simple conception. The typical Trika view is set forth in Kshemarāja's Vimarśinī on the Śiva Sūtras. Commenting on the first Sūtras of the 2nd Unmesha, he explains Mantra as 'that by which the Supreme Truth (Paratattva) is thought of in terms of unity.' This again is explained on the strength of the Sūtra as the devotee's own Citta or intelligence-stuff within.[236] That this interpretation is a very sensible one is apparent from the fact that it at once leads us from the popular meaning of letters and symbols to a loftier plane of the devotee's concentrated thought. Mantra, according to Kshemarāja, does not therefore mean a simple combination of various letters in different order, but a kind of highly concentrated thought-activity focussed to a point, as it were, which is carried on by the devotee (Mantrī) with the help of such external symbols as Praṇava, Prasāda, etc. If this significance of Mantra is taken for granted it becomes essentially connected with Vimarśa of the ' I-ness ' in complete non-distinction from the

entire universe of Thought and Experience. The inter-relation between Mantra and Vimarśa, the very pith and essence of the Trika system, has been explicitly elucidated by Kshemarāja in his commentary on the 3rd Sūtra of the 2nd Book of the Śiva Sūtras.[237] There he remarks that in Vimarśa lies the whole secret of Mantra and its mystic power. To strengthen this view of Vimarśa as the basic principle of mantra, he quotes the following appropriate text from an earlier Tantric work called Tantrasadbhāva : —

" O beloved, Mantras are composed of letters or sounds which are imbued with Śakti. This Śakti you should know as Mātṛkā. Mātṛkā, again, is filled with Śiva's nature." [238] In this quotation Kshemarāja attempts to present before us the important categories of Varṇa, M[illegible], the Mātṛkā Parā Śakti, and last of all Śi[illegible] new intellectual esoteric side of the Trika system—in their true perspective. If this Śākta genesis of Mantras is lost sight of, the Trika affirms that the Mantras will be as futile as the autumnal clouds which give forth thunders but seldom pour down rain.[239] Quoting from Śrīkaṇṭha Saṃhitā, probably an earlier Āgamic work, Kshemarāja reminds us of the important Trika conclusion (Siddhānta), that on this interpretation of the Śākta-genesis there cannot and does not exist any real difference between a mantra (it being the ' Citta ' or the mind-energy of the devotee (mantrī in meditation) and the

Supreme Principle of Divine energy, as the whole question rests on a basis of the true knowledge of unity.[240] This Śākta basis of mantra forms such an important part of the Śākta means (Upāya) of deliverance in the Trika that Abhinava lays great emphasis on it and quotes the following significant couplet to substantiate his remark : "One should not apply the Mantra either to the Purusha or the Supreme Truth, but to Śakti only because they cannot conduce to the 'bhoga' or 'moksha,' as the former is inactive and the latter unconscious (Jaḍa).[241] The subject of Mantra Śakti is so closely connected with its practical application that a mere theoretical discussion is not adequate to throw sufficient light on its inner significance. Nevertheless, a comparision of the typical Trika explanat[illegible] Mantra-energy (Vīrya) from the Abhinava, Utpala [illegible]int of 'Citta' or the mind-stuff [illegible]ged, as [illegible] were, with an electric current of a highly concentrated thought-activity with the similar interpretations of the modern American School of mental healing and New Thought recommending 'concentration upon a carefully selected word as the starting point of efficacious meditation' may possibly help towards a rational interpretation of this highly obscure subject. The Trika exposition of Mantra might, therefore, be regarded as an anticipation of the eternal truth of mystic exercises of all ages, which consists in liberating and directing towards a conscious purpose

'the tremendous powers of apprehension lying below the threshold of ordinary consciousness' by means of repeating Mantras or certain rythmic formulæ. This psychological explanation of the summoning up of mental forces pent up in the subliminal region by means of Mantra or similar occult practices is clearly set forth in the following words by A. E. White: "The fundamental principle was in the exercise of a certain occult force resident in the magus and strenuously exerted for the establishment of such a correspondence between two planes of nature as would effect his desired end. This exertion was termed the evocation, conjuration or calling up of the spirit, but that which in reality was raised was the energy of the inner man: tremendously developed and exalted by combined will and aspiration, this energy germinated by sheer force of a new intellectual faculty of sensible psychological perception."

Before concluding this topic of Mantra Śakti we should not overlook an important fact of historical interest, *viz.*, the influence of Bhartṛhari's grammatical philosophy on the doctrines of the Kashmere School. Bhartṛhari is supposed to have flourished somewhere in the latter part of the 6th century A.D. Apart from his well known "Centuries of Morals, Renunciation and Love," he is known as the gifted author of the Vākyapadīya, a voluminous but wonderfully original treatise upon the philosophy of grammar. In

discussing how the Trika sought to establish Mātṛkā's identity with the Supreme Śakti of Vimarśa we have seen that as the 'Mother of Mantras' (mantra-mātā) She is first identified with the Supreme Logos or Parā Vāk. Then we see that it becomes easier for Trika to maintain that Mātṛkā as Parā Vāk is the same with Vimarśa. Now it is precisely at this point of Vimarśa's nature of Vāk or speech that we find the Trika writers all quoting from Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya to prove that speech and thought are ultimately united because they are both interpenetrated by the existence of the same reality (Sattā). Abhinava, for example, refers to him with great reverence as 'Tatrabhavad-Bhartṛhari' in his commentary on the Pratyabhijñā Kārikā, I. V. 14, and quotes two or three verses from Vākyapadīya. Even before Abhinava, Utpala uses the word "Pratyavamarśa" a typically Trika expression, in his Kārikā— "Citiḥ Pratyavamarśātmā parā Vāk svarasoditā," etc., in much the same sense as is done by Bhartṛhari. In fact, this Kārikā of Utpala seems to be an echo of the Vākyapadīya couplet :—

" Vāgrūpatā ced utkrāmetāvabodhasya śāśvatī,
Na prakāśaḥ prakāśeta sā hi pratyavamarśinī."

CHAPTER III

ŚAKTI IN VĪRA-ŚAIVA SCHOOL

Preliminary.

Before dealing with the subject of Śakti as handled by the Vīra-Śaivas it is necessary to give in outline a sketch of the origin and the main tenets of this school by way of an introduction. This school of Vīra-Śaivism, which also goes by the name of "Liṅgāyata," is so called because its followers carry a 'liṅga' or phallic emblem of Śiva on their bodies. Though one often feels tempted to explain the compound 'Vīra-Śaiva' as a 'Stalwart follower of Śiva,' some of the Śaiva Āgamas and Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi, one of the most authoritative books of the School, maintain that the term signifies a follower of 'Śiva' who always delights in the Supreme knowledge of the one-ness of Śiva and Jīva.'[243] The origin of this school is still wrapped up in mystery. Most of the Oriental scholars are inclined to believe that it probably arose somewhere about 1160 A. D. Basava, the minister of the Kalachuri king Bijjala of Kalyāṇa, is generally regarded as the founder, or, at any rate, the chief leader of the Liṅgāyata revival which took place in the 12th century A. D. But a closer study of the Śaiva Āgamas and the important texts of the

Vīra-Śaivas seems to lead one to believe that the origin of the system probably dates from a much earlier period than 1160 A.D.

Vīra-Śaiva Documents in the Āgamas.

The general bulk of the 28 Śaiva Āgamas contain much of Vīra-Śaiva doctrines and rituals. Most of them contain either special or mixed Paṭalas in which may be found a detailed account of the characteristics of the Vīra-Śaiva spiritual discipline. The Liṅgāyatas, as a matter of fact, always appeal to the Āgamas as their highest authority for such specific rites and doctrines as holding the Liṅga, smearing the body with holy ashes, bearing the Tripuṇḍra mark, etc., and put forth the claim that the latter portions of the Āgamas, from the Kāmika to the Vātūla, are all expositions of their doctrines.[244] According to Śiva-Yogi-Reṇuka, the author of Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi, who seems to have flourished in the 13th century, the system of the Āgamas is superior to all the other systems such as the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, etc.[245] In the Āgamas themselves the Āgamic system is, again, divided into four groups, *viz.*, Śaiva, Pāśupata, Soma and Lākula.[246] Of these, the first, Śaiva, is again subdivided into four sections, *viz.*, the Vāma or the left-handed, the Dakshiṇa or the right-handed, Miśra or the mixed, and Siddhānta or the pure conclusion

The Vāma-Śaiva is the system which gives prominence to the principle of Śakti. The Dakshiṇa is so called because it lays special stress on the Bhairava form of Śiva. The Miśra gets its name from the special emphasis on the seven Śakti forms called Mātṛ. Lastly, the Siddhānta is so called because it is in perfect agreement with the essential teachings of the Vedas.[247] In the Kāmika Uttarārdha reference is made to the Vīra-Śaiva Viraktas. Numerous references to the mystic performances of the Vīra-Śaivas are to be found in the Yogajāgama. The Sūkshmāgama also has, in many places, referred to this school. In the Suprabheda, as well as the Svāyambhuva, a full account of the origin of the five ancient teachers of Vīra-Śaivism can be found. Vīrāgama, as its very name indicates, is painted all over in Liṅgāyata colour. Makuṭa, Candrajñāna, Śānta, Pārameśvara all contain more or less Liṅgāyata doctrines.[248] As regards the Vātūla, *i. e.*, the Uttara portion, the work is nothing but a systematic exposition of the characteristic features of Vīra-Śaiva mysticism. The 10th Paṭala of this Āgama, called Mantrakīla, gives an account of the Vīra-Śaivas as distinguished from Sāmānya, Miśra and Śuddha Śaivas. The specific doctrine of 'liṅga,' which sharply differentiates this school from all others, can also be located in the Āgamas. In the Suprabheda there is an entire Paṭala devoted to the characteristics and significance

of 'liṅga.' Besides this Paṭala, the Jñānapāda of this Āgama also contains much about this Saivic emblem.[249] In the Kāmika, in Sivānujñā Paṭala, we also come across an explanation of 'liṅga' from the point of view of Bindu and Nāda.[250] Then again, concentration on the mantra called Pañcāksharī or five-lettered 'Namaḥ Sivāya,' regarded by the Liṅgāyatas as one of the most important and distinctive articles of their faith—can also be traced to the Āgamas.[251] Another outstanding feature of the Vīra-Saiva method of soul-culture, *viz.*, the doctrine and worship of Jaṅgama Liṅga, *i.e.*, the human form of a Guru considered as Siva in mobile character, as distinguished from His ordinary immobile form of a 'liṅga' made out of metal or stone—has also its genesis in such Āgamic works as the Vīrāgama.[252] The cumulative force of these Āgamic documents of the Liṅgāyata cult seems to lead one to the conclusion that the school of the Vīra-Saivas probably branched off as a natural offshoot from the same parent stem of the Āgamas which gave birth to the other Saiva systems, and probably dates from the time when they came to be promulgated for the first time. But it is not likely that at that Āgamic period of high antiquity Vīra-Saivism existed as a full-blown system. Be this as it may, the highly ancient origin of this school seems to receive a further confirmation from the Liṅgāyata tradition which gives a long

list of Purātanas or ancient teachers of Vīra-Śaivism filling up the gap of the intervening period between the five Mūlācāryas and Basava the leader of the revival. According to this tradition, which follows the Suprabheda account, the five original teachers, *viz.*, Revaṇa, Marula, Ekorāma, Paṇḍitārādhya and Viśvārādhya, are said to have sprung respectively from the mouths of the five forms of Śiva, *viz.*, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha and Īśāna. They were initiated into the mysteries of the Vīra-Śaiva cult by Śiva himself. Tradition also assigns different places for the liṅgas from which they were born. Revaṇa sprang from the Someśa-liṅga in Kollipāka, a village in the north of Śrī Śaila; Marula from the Siddheśa-liṅga in Ujjain ; Ekorāma from Mallikārjuna-liṅga ; Paṇḍitārādhya from the Rāmnāth-liṅga in Kedārnāth in the Himalayas; and Viśvārādhya from Viśveśvara-liṅga in Benares. [253] The names of these different places from the north of the Himalayas to the district of Mysore, where there were temples of well-known consecrated liṅgas of Śiva, go to show that at one time this religious body had its followers spread over India, though in later times it came to be confined to the Kanarese and Telugu countries. According to tradition recorded by Reṇuka in his masterly work, Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi, Revaṇa, one of these Mūlācāryas, who was in reality Reṇuka, one of Śiva's personal attendants in His heavenly

abode on the mount Kailāsa, was cursed by Siva for transgressing His command. So he came down to an earthly existence in the form of Revaṇa, went to the hermitage of the sage Agastya on the mountain Malaya, and taught him the Vīra-Saiva lore.[254] Maritōṇṭadārya, the 14th century author of Kaivalya-sāra and Tattva-pradīpikā, a commentary on Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi, bows to Boḷabasavārya and Siddhavīra as his teachers. Māyideva, the author of Anubhava-Sūtra, gives a list of Vīra-Saiva teachers in regular succession from Somanātha to his immediate Guru Saṅgameśvara. Thus it might be conjectured that probably Basava had several forerunners in his religious teachings.[255] Whatever might be the date of the origin of this school, a careful study of some of its texts, possibly belonging to the 13th or the earlier part of the 14th century, discloses a fact of great historical interest, namely, a palpable trace of the influence of the Kashmere type of Saivism. In the 20th chapter of Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi we find a verse quoted from Parā-Triṃśikā, a Tāntric work pre-eminently belonging to the Kashmere School. The typical Trika conception of Vimarśa, which is hardly to be met with in the 28 Saiva Āgamas, has been fully utilised in explaining the meaning and function of Sakti in relation to Siva.[256] Thus in the 20th chapter of this work, while discussing the topic of Bhājana-Sthala, one of the hundred and

one Sthalas of Vīra-Śaivism, the author, Śiva-Yogi-Reṇuka, affirms in clear terms that Bhājana-Sthala means Tirobhāva-Śakti or the Power of Obscuration considered as the place of resort of Vimarśa.[257] Just like the Trika, he explains this Vimarśa as the Supreme Egoity, which like a pot contains within herself the myriads of worlds yet to come and gives birth to the phenomenal diversity of things. When again from Reṇuka we pass on to Maritōṇṭadārya, who probably flourished early in the 14th century, we can very well see that the Trika, elaborated and systematised by Utpala, has gained a firmer hold on his mind.[258] More than once in his work, Kaivalya-sāra, he quotes from the Śiva-Sūtras of Vasu Gupta—not in their actual Sūtra-form but in couplets containing a kind of poetical elucidation of the sūtras. There can be little doubt that by the name Śiva-Sūtra Māritōṇṭadārya actually refers to the real sūtras of Vasu Gupta, and not, as might be said, to any other Śaiva work of the same name, because from some of the verses he quotes we can very easily pick out the sūtras. In the 4th Prakaraṇa of Kaivalya-sāra, for example, the author in the course of explaining Paramātma-Sthala gives the following couplet:—

> "Puryashṭakasamāyogāt vicaran sarvamūrtishu
> Raṅgo'ntarātmā vijñeyo nṛtyataḥ paramātmanaḥ."

Now, a glance only is required to pick out from

the above verse the Siva-Sūtras, *viz.*, "Raṅgo'ntarātmā" and "Nartaka-ātmā." This undoubtedly goes to prove that Maritōṇṭadārya must have come across the Siva-Sūtras in some form or other. Then again in his commentary Tattvapradīpikā on Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi he actually quotes the following Kārikā from the Īśvarapratyabhijñā of Utpala, who flourished, as we know, early in the 10th century :—

> " Cidātmaiva devo'ntaḥ sthitam icchāvaśād bahiḥ
> Yogīva nirupādānam arthajātam prakāśayet." [259]

A careful consideration of these facts furnishes additional proof in favour of Dr. Barnett's theory that at the beginning of the 11th centnry the theological ideas of the Kashmere Saivism of the North 'penetrated southward into the Kanarese country and leavened the native Saiva faith of the Vīra-Saivas into a revolutionary ferment.' [260] So much for the relation of Vīra-Saivism to the Āgamas and the Kashmere Trika. Let us now see what connection it professes to have with the Vedic literature.

Relation of Vīra-Saivism to the Vedas and Upanishads.

Like most of the religious systems of India, which point out particular passages in the Vedas and Upanishads as giving sanction to their special practices, the Vīra-Saiva manuals frequently draw

corroborative texts from the Vedas and such minor Upanishads as the Jābāla, Maitreya, Uttara Tāpanīya, Haṃsa and a host of other later Upanishads. Sometimes they also refer to such earlier Upanishads as Muṇḍaka, Praśna, Kaṭha, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, and others.[251] But the Śvetāśvatara seems to be their most favourite text. The reason for this is obvious. For, it is in the Śvetāśvatara that the theistic movement which was making a slow progress in all the earlier Upanishads attains its final shape by a process of identifying the Aupanishadic impersonal Brahman with the personal God Śiva. The position of this Upanishad, which is not so late in date as is often supposed, is thus a very peculiar one. It is the one important Upanishad from which almost all the theistic schools of Indian religion—no matter whether Vaishṇava or Śaiva—have freely drawn their inspiration.[262] Apart from these well-known Śruti texts, Vīra-Śaivas always refer to another kind of Śruti which they call Pārāta Śruti. What Pārāta Śruti means it is hard to determine. The only thing that can be guessed is that this term might refer to a comparatively little known śākhā of the Vedas.[263] It must, however, be mentioned here that the Vedic texts which Liṅgāyatas quote in support of their peculiar rites such as the wearing of the 'liṅga' or the besmearing of the body with burnt dung (Bhasmoddhūlana) are sometimes unduly twisted and misinterpreted to fit in their

specific Liṅgāyata meaning.[264] On the other hand, to affirm with Mr. P. T. Śrīnivas Iyengar, the author of the work entitled "Outlines of Indian Philosophy," that the Vīra-Śaiva cult is "but a social reform movement with a veneer of philosophy put on later to gain an orthodox standing" will be to take up an extreme position which is equally unjustifiable.[265] In all fairness to the Vīra-Śaivas it should be admitted that when they draw passages from the minor Upanishads belonging to the Atharva Veda, which is generally admitted to contain much of Rudra-Śiva conceptions, especially in support of their theory of Prāṇa-liṅga, they do not distort the sense of Śruti.[266] As for the Vedic sanction of wearing an actual liṅga made of stone or metal, it is beyond doubt that this custom is more of Agamic origin than Vedic, inspite of the fact that the Vīra-Śaivas try their best to legitimise it by quoting two Śruti texts—one from the Ṛgveda, 7th chapter, and the other from Śrī-Rudra Upanishad.[267]

Vīra-Śaivism—regarded by Saṃkara as an anti-Vedic School—why?

Despite the fact that Vīra-Śaivism tries its best to show its compatibility with Vedic teachings—so much so that such Liṅgāyata writers as Reṇuka and others attempt, without success, to show that its teachings are in perfect agreement

with Śruti—it is generally understood to be a non-Vedic system, and even opposed to the Vedas. In this respect it shares the same fate as the Pāñcarātra system. This view seems to have increased since the days of the great Vedāntic exponent Śaṃkara. His Bhāshya on some of the Vyāsa Sūtras beginning with "Patyur asāmañjasyāt" is taken by most scholars as directed against the Pāśupata School, which is supposed to include Vīra-Śaivism.[268] Vīra-Śaiva writers seem to have fought hard to remove this stigma on their system. Channa Vṛshabhendra Swāmī, the 15th century author of Vīra-Śaiva-sarvotkarsha-dīpikā, discusses this question at some length, and endeavours to show by quoting from Appaya Dīkshita's celebrated super-commentary Parimala that the Pāśupata is divided into two distinct schools, *viz.*, Vaidika Pāśupata and A-Vaidika Pāśupata.[269] The Vedic school of Pāśupata he identifies with the Liṅgāyata, and he maintains on the same authority that Śaṃkara's polemic is really directed against the non-Vedic Pāśupata, identical with the Lakulīśa, and not against the Vīra-Śaiva. Śrīkara in his Vīra-Śaiva Bhāshya on the Vyāsa Sūtras, which is a later exposition, maintains as against this current belief, that the Vīra-Śaiva philosophical standpoint of Śaktiviśishṭādva ita was an ancient method of interpreting the Vedas adopted by several early teachers such as Reṇuka, Śaṃkha-karṇa, Gokarṇa, Dāruka, etc.[270] But this kind

of solution of the difficulty is not convincing. In any case, though there is much truth in the current belief that several characteristic features of the Vīra-Śaiva faith show traces of non-Vedic origin, yet in the main outline of its philosophic principles and ideas it is not unlikely that it drew many ideas also from certain sections of the Yajus and Atharva, where references to Rudra-Śiva as a distinct personal deity are by no means wanting.[271] Notwithstanding the above explanation of Channa Vṛshabhendra, it seems more likely that Śaṃkara's Bhāshya was really directed against the Pāśupata doctrine, meaning also the Vīra-Śaivas. Vācaspati Miśra in his commentary Bhāmatī explains the bhāshya as a refutation of the Māheśvaras.[272] Now, Māheśvara, though a generic name for all classes of Śaivas, also specially signifies the Vīra-Śaivas, who style themselves as such when they attain to the consciousness of their fellowship (Sāyujya) with Maheśvara.[273] Moreover, one of their 101 Sthalas also goes by the actual name of Māheśvara-Sthala. That Śaṃkara levelled his criticisms against the Vīra-Śaivas is also patent from another consideration, *viz.*, a distinct anti-Advaitic tendency (Advaita as understood in Śaṃkara's school) in the doctrines of Vīra-Śaivism.[274] The "Liṅgāṅga-sāmarasya," or the highest goal to be attained by a Liṅgāyata, is not the realisation of a 'Nirviśesha' or perfectly unqualified non-dualistic consciousness of Brahman, the Universal

Self as in the Advaita of Śaṃkara's school. On the contrary, it is explained as a state of consciousness of at-one-ment with Śiva in the sense of perfect fellowship (Sāyujya). This anti-Nirviśesha tendency is again more palpably brought out in one of the Sthalas which they actually style "Sarvādvaitanirasana-Sthala" or the place of refutation of all Advaita. The purport of this topic is that the Vīra-Śaiva devotee should not, as in Śaṃkara's system of Advaita, merge all consciousness of duality between the worshipper and the worshipped, but should be Karmī, knowing Śiva as the Guiding Lord and his self as the servant obeying His commands. This standpoint of duality is specially emphasised by Vīra-Śaivism from a natural dread that if it should tend towards Śaṃkara's position of absolute non-duality the worship of Śiva's Liṅga-form would be an utter impossibility.[275] Thus it seems to us that it was possibly this anti-Advaitic spirit of the Vīra-Śaivas that evoked a strong polemic criticism from Śaṃkara. In discussing the relation of Vīra-Śaivism with Vedic literature it is worth while to note also its close connection with some of the Purāṇas. The Vāyavīya Saṃhitā of the Śivapurāṇa, the Śaṃkara Saṃhitā and the Sūta Saṃhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa, the Liṅga Purāṇa, portions of the Bhavishya Purāṇa giving an account of Allamaprabhu—all contain in clear language documents of the Vīra-Śaiva cult. But the Purāṇas, though they

claim to be based on Sruti, are very difficult to handle properly. This is so because they cannot be regarded as belonging to any definite period in Indian chronology, and also because the subject-matters that they treat are of such a mixed character that they do not always discuss things strictly of Vedic origin. Thus Purāṇic documents do not carry us very far in determining the period of the origin of Vīra-Saivism. But the evidence of Sūta-Saṃhitā, from which numerous quotations can be found in such Vīra-Saiva treatises as the Kaivalya-sāra, the Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi, Anādi-Vīra-Saiva-sāra-saṃgraha, etc., is of special importance.[276] A manuscript of this Saṃhitā was discovered by Prof. Bendall in Nepal which dated, according to him, from the 6th century A.D. It remains a curious fact that the Vīra-Saivas who are not thorough-going Advaitins often quote from Yoga-vāsishṭha, a voluminous work which breathes an atmosphere of Advaita from beginning to end.[277]

Āgamic Classification of Vīra-Saivas.

Thus having examined the question of the Vedic source of the doctrines of the Vīra-Saivas, let us see into how many different classes the Liṅgāyatas are divided in the Āgamas, and what position they exactly occupy in this general scheme of the various divisions of the Saivas. The Āgamas generally divide the Saivas into seven groups, *viz.*, (1) Anādi-Saiva, (2) Ādi-Saiva, (3)

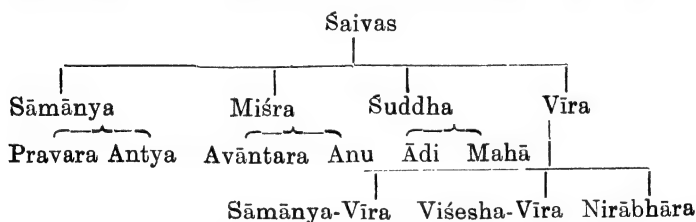
Mahā-Śaiva, (4) Anu-Śaiva, (5) Avāntara-Śaiva, (6) Pravara-Śaiva, and (7) Antya-Śaiva. Then from the stand point of external rites and practices (Ācāra) the Āgamas also divide Śaivas into four groups, *viz.*, (1) Sāmānya, (2) Miśra, (3) Śuddha, and (4) Vīra.[278] The Sāmānya-Śaivas are under no stringent rules of Śiva worship. They can worship Śiva-liṅga and smear themselves with holy ashes at any time and any place they find convenient. The Miśra-Śaivas are those who worship Śiva along with other deities, such as Vishṇu, Śakti, Gaṇapati, etc. The Śuddha-Śaivas are exclusively worshippers of Śiva. The Vīra-Śaivas are those who follow the easiest method of Śiva worship, and also practise the easiest forms of spiritual rites. Then the Āgamas further subdivide the Vīra-Śaivas into three classes according to the stage of the spiritual advancement of the devotees, *viz.*, (1) Sāmānya-Vīra-Śaiva, (2) Viśesha-Vīra-Śaiva, and (3) Nirābhāra-Vīra-Śaivas.[279] The meaning of these three terms is clearly explained by Channa Vṛshabhendra Swāmī in his work entitled the "Vīra-Śaiva-sarvotkarsha-pradīpikā." According to him these three divisions represent the three orders of laity, celibates, and ascetics, and also seem to have much to do with the distinction of caste. The Sāmānya-Vīra-Śaivas he explains as the initiated Kshatriya and Vaiśya worshippers of the Liṅga. The Viśeshas are the advanced and devoted Brahman

worshippers of the Liṅga designated by the terms Bhakta, Māheśvara, and Ārādhya. The Nirābhāra Vīra-Saivas are, according to him, Yatis or ascetics who have completely renounced the world and do not labour under the burden of any social or religious convention. These Vīra-Saivas are also called Jaṅgamas or wandering Vīras ; from them the priestly class is mostly drawn.[280] The best Āgamic account of this three-fold division of the Vīra-Saivas is to be found in the 7th Paṭala of the Sūkshmāgama, which, as we have remarked before, is an out-and-out Vīra-Saiva manual in its tone.[281] From this work we quote the following exposition of this division :—
" O Daughter of the Mountain ! those who wear the rosary and smear their bodies with holy ashes according to the method taught by the Guru, always utter the five-syllabled mantra without giving way to laziness, wear the Liṅga tied by the Guru with great caution and worship the Liṅga meditating on the essential identity of[282] the Ishṭa-Liṅga, the Prāṇa-Liṅga and the Bhāva-Liṅga, are the Sāmānya-Vīra-Saivas. Those, again, who can offer to the Jaṅgama all that are dear to one's self, for instance, life, progeny, ornaments, wealth, etc., and take them back as a grace (Prasāda) from the Jaṅgama after having been accepted by him are called the Viśesha-Vīra-Saivas. The Viśeshas should be ready to disown even their wives, brothers and daughters if they act against

the will of Śiva. They should perceive the Liṅga by their minds, serve the Liṅga by their hands, and experience it by all the senses. They should think of the Liṅga as their Lord and of themselves as His devoted consort, and should, therefore, immediately give up their lives if by chance the Liṅga tied round the neck is lost. Thus, O Beloved! have I spoken of the characteristics of the Viśeshas. Now I shall speak about the characteristics of the Nirābhāras. So listen to me with all attention. The Karma of beings is two-fold—virtue and vice. A Nirābhāra is so called because he has shaken off the burden of either kind of Karma. Whether he is with matted hair, shaven-headed, with a single tuft of hair, or clad in a piece of cloth dyed in red-mineral, if he is free from desire, united with his Liṅga, living on alms, void of fear, with restrained speech and compassionate towards all creatures, he is called Nirābhāra. A Nirābhāra is he who worships the Liṅga with wild flowers, leaves, and fruits, is enlightened by the Supreme knowledge of Śiva and has perfectly mastered all his senses."

Shaḍakshara-Mantrī, the 18th century author of an excellent manual of the doctrines of the Vīra-Śaivas entitled "Vīra-Śaiva-dharmaśiromaṇi" slightly deviates from this account of the Sūkshma Āgama, and on the authority of another Āgama called the Pārameśvara divides the Śaivas into seven groups, substituting Yoga-Śaiva, Jñāna-

Śaiva and Vīra-Śaiva for Pravara, Antya and Avāntara.[283] This shows that according to Vīra-Śaiva opinion the seven-fold Āgamic classification is really indicative of progress in the spiritual path of Śaivism, and not of any caste-distinction, which never finds a real place in the Liṅgāyata cult.[284] The Pārameśvara Āgama thus explains the terms Yoga-Śaiva, Jñāna-Śaiva, and Vīra-Śaiva :—" One should resort to the view of Yoga-Śaiva, meditating on the essential identity of the entire world (both mobile and immobile) with Śiva. Then he should fix his thought on the identity of his self with the world. In this Yoga-Śaiva point of view of Mine there is no place for external worship, ceremony, worship of the Jaṅgama and obeisance to others. One should retire to a lonely place, renouncing wealth, etc., and being absolutely free from egotism and self-interest, should meditate on the Lord in his soul. Established in this path, one should perceive the whole world pervaded by the Liṅga, and the latter pervaded by My Nature. This great knowledge of all knowledge (Jñānasya jñānam uttamam) consists, O my beloved Lady ! in this perception of identity. In this path of Jñāna-Śaiva, O my Darling ! there is no (injunction of) meditation, strenuous mystic exercise, worship of Jaṅgamas, or even Yogic practice. He who is stationed in this path, having passed through the successive previous places, is doubtless Śiva

Himself, even though he is alike. One stationed in the path of Vīra-Śaiva has to practise abstract meditation on this knowledge (of identity), as neither Jñāna nor Yoga is possible by itself.'' [285] Shaḍakshara-Mantrī points out the chief merit of this classification of Pārameśvara Āgama by showing that these groups, representing different phases of the same faith, are like so many flights of steps of the same 'grand staircase' all leading to the ultimate goal of the final realisation of the Vīra-Śaiva. Thus the whole scheme of Śaiva classification as set forth in the Āgamas may be expressed in the following tabular form :—

Vīra-Śaiva Literature.

Very few texts of this school seem to have been brought to light by European scholars. Nevertheless, judging from a large number of texts published in India and also many unpublished texts lying buried in South Indian manuscript libraries, it is not unfair to conclude that the Vīra-Śaiva literature covers a fairly extensive ground. There are many texts in this literature which, if critically edited and translated, would in many ways, open a new field of fruitful study and research.

But the chief difficulty in this matter lies in the fact that most of the Vīra-Śaiva texts are written in the Karanese and Telugu languages.

Though a large number of texts have in recent times been published from Sholapur by the late Rao Saheb Malappa Vasappa Varad, an enlightened member of the community, the dates of many of them cannot be ascertained with historical certainty. This is so because very few Liṅgāyata inscriptions dating before the 12th century are available. It cannot of course be maintained with absolute certainty that all the inscriptional evidences of South Indian Chronology have been exhaustively discovered and thoroughly investigated so that no fresh material will be discovered in future throwing light on such problems. Another difficulty which stands as a great stumbling block to a student attempting to make a critical study of the philosophical and doctrinal side of the school consists in the fact that most of the accessible texts unfortunately deal with the practical or ritualistic side of the system. They hardly attempt to present a systematic account of the philosophical position of the school, in contradistinction to that of the other systems of Hindu faith. Thus such works as the Kaivalya-sāra, the Anādi-Vīra-Śaiva-mata-saṃgraha, Vīra-Śaivānvayacandrikā, and a host of similar treatises only explain the 101 Sthalas of the system, and try to substantiate their pet theory of the Vedic sanction of Vīra-Śaiva

ceremonials by giving numerous quotations from the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, and even the Purāṇas. The celebrated Basava Purāṇa is such a medley of facts and fictions fantastically mingled together that it is extremely difficult and even risky to glean philosophical principles or historical facts from it. Then again such works as Vīra-Śaiva-sadācāra-saṃgraha, Pādodakavicāra, Prabahuliṅgalīlā, Vīra-Śaivasadācārapradīpikā, and Liṅgadhāraṇa-candrikā, are so full of ritualistic details and imaginary tales about Liṅgāyata heroes that they contain but little of the cardinal principles of the system. Thus of the numerous treatises on the Vīra-Śaiva system of faith the Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi with Maritōṇṭadārya's commentary, the Sūkshmāgama, Vīra-Śaiva-dharma-śiromaṇi by Shaḍakshara-Mantrī, Viveka-cintāmaṇi by the celebrated Nijaguṇa-Śiva-Yogī, Kriyāsāra by Nīlakaṇṭha, and a few others are perhaps the only works which contain a partial exposition of the doctrinal aspect of this school. Some very useful statements about the main Liṅgāyata principles of Guru, Liṅga, Jaṅgama, Prasāda, Bhakti, etc., can also be gathered from the Vacanas ascribed to Basava, a select number of which, rendered into English by Mr. P. G. Halkatti, were published some years ago in the pages of the Indian Antiquary. If we consider these difficulties, it becomes at once clear why in the writings of almost all well-known authors who have tried

to give an account of this school, as for example, Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. E. P. Rice, Mr. A. P. Brown, Dr. Farquhar, a lack of first-hand acquaintance with a fair number of original texts and, therefore, an extreme paucity of materials utilised are clearly perceptible. With regard to the authoritative position of Nijaguṇa's Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi, which is one of our main sources, a word or two is necessary. Mr. C. P. Brown, writing in 1840 an article on the "Creed, Customs and Literature of the Jaṅgamas" in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, raised a doubt as to the authentic character of this masterly work and made the following remarks :—"The Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi, written in Sanskrit verse on the Ārādhya system, contains a wild mythological tale tending to represent Revaṇa Ārādhya as a human appearance of one of the Pramathas or ministers of Siva. But this book is not considered good authority and the legend is not current." [286] Now, the validity of the statement that this work is written on the Ārādhya system is not borne out by an actual investigation into the contents of the book. It is evident from a careful study of the contents of each chapter of this book that it is not written with any special purpose of expounding the Ārādhya system as distinguished from general Vīra-Saivism. In no chapter can be found any specific mention of the Ārādhyas. Then again, as to the

remark on its doubtful authority, it is evident from a study of the work that either Mr. Brown had not himself read it or that he was misinformed by an adherent of the community who only heard of its existence. On the contrary, the high esteem in which this work is held by the general body of Liṅgāyata writers, from Maritōṇṭadārya down to 18th century writer Shaḍakshara Mantrī, is evident from numerous quotations from it found in their writings. In discussing the individual merits of certain well-known Vīra-Śaiva works two other treatises of Māyi Deva deserve to be specially mentioned, *viz.*, the Anubhava-Sūtra and the Viśeshārthaprakāśikā. The first work is said to be based on the latter portion of the Vātūlāgama. It is perhaps the best work on the philosophical tenets of the school, and specially treats of Śakti as a fundamental principle. The second work is also a very valuable composition as bringing out the real significance of Bhakti as Śakti and Prasāda in the Vīra-Śaiva cult. This little treatise is written in six chapters, expounding the special doctrines of the school in the form of a dialogue between a Guru and his disciple. Each chapter consists of a number of beautiful verses in diverse metres expressing the remarkable spiritual earnestness of the author. Here, certainly, we find a work which would be well worth the trouble of a modern critical edition. Next to the works of Māyi-deva, Kriyāsāra, a work written in verse by

Nīlakaṇṭha, a later writer who is supposed to have composed a Bhāshya on the Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa illustrating the 'Śakti-viśishṭādvaita' standpoint of this system, also deserves to be specially considered. This is a rather voluminous work, and is written in 31 chapters, each chapter being styled Upadeśa or instruction, meant to be imparted to one intending to be initiated into the mysteries of Vīra-Śaiva principles. This book specially endeavours to present on logical grounds a clear exposition of the 'Conditional Advaitism' of the school regarding Śakti as the 'Principle of limitations,' to distinguish it from the absolute Advaitism of Śaṃkara's school, and is therefore called "Viśishṭādvaita-siddhānta-rahasya." This work is interesting and important also from another point of view, *viz.*, that it professes to epitomise the extensive range of Āgamic teachings, and is therefore also styled as "Nigamāgamasāra-saṃgraha." Chapters 21, 22, and 24 of this treatise are specially important, as they deal with such philosophical topics as the conception of Mahāliṅga or the First Principle, the arguments for the Śakti-viśishṭādvaita position, and the exposition of the six Sthalas or Principles of Vīra-Śaivism.[287]

Śakti in the Liṅgāyata System.

We have seen that in the Trika School Śakti in Her ultimate character as the 'inmost nature' of Parama Śiva is designated by the

special term Vimarśa. We have also seen how this Vimarśa is explained as 'Reflection of Perfect Egoity.' With regard to this problem Liṅgāyata School has undoubtedly much in common with the Trika. So great indeed was the influence of the Kashmere school of thought on Vīra-Śaivic system that we find many of their ideas and even technical terms such as Vimarśa, Parāmarśa, etc., are actually borrowed and incorporated into their exposition of the principle of Śakti. Like the Trika, Śivayogi Reṇuka in his Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi starts with the idea of Śakti as possessing a 'common nature' with Śiva.[288] He, therefore, styles Her in the ultimate state by the specific term ' Dharmacāriṇī ' which means a lawfully-wedded wife who acts in perfect agreement with her husband's disposition. In this supreme state She is inseparably joined with Śiva in Samavāya relation and is far above other subordinate Śaktis, such as the five Kalā Śaktis and Kuṇḍalinī.[289] It is with regard to this aspect of Her non-difference from Śiva that Māyideva in his Anubhava-Sūtra describes as ' a pure embodiment of Śiva's Grace ' (Śivaprasādāmalavigrahā) and also as a ' digit of Śiva's intuitive perception of Self ' (Śivānubhūtipratibhākalā). Considered from this point of view of primacy Maritōṇṭadārya affirms that She is to be understood as a ' perfect equilibrium of Jñāna and Kriyā (Jñānakriyāsāmarasyātmikā).[290]

Thus far we find practically nothing about the nature of Śakti which stands out as a peculiar characteristic of Vīra-Śaivic thought. But soon the Liṅgāyata thinker throws off his allegiance to the sister school and carves out a new path for himself. For, the very next moment we find that he boldly affirms that this Supreme Śakti is nothing but the very self of Māyā (Māyā-svarūpā).[291] If we consider how Māyā in the ultimate sense is never given a place by the side of the Highest Reality, Brahman, in the strict school of Advaita, but is always viewed with suspicion as the 'Supreme Author' of all evils we must admit this to be indeed a bold assertion reflecting a good deal of original thinking. In justice to the Trika School it must, however, be admitted that she also regarded Māyā Śakti, which causes phenomenal diversities, as a special mode of the Supreme Svātantrya Śakti. But the Liṅgāyatas, though they admitted this conclusion of the Trika, proceeded a step further and called this Śakti Mahā-Māyā or Śuddha-Māyā, *i.e.*, Pure Māyā as She is not in the least contaminated by Tamas. Here the Vīra-Śaivas, it should be noted, do not adopt the Sāṃkhya conception of Guṇas, which in the latter Advaita Vedānta forms the constituent elements of Māyā, bringing forth illusory forms of perception. On the contrary, they follow the Āgamic line of thought and draw a clear distinction between Māyā in the sense of

Avidyā and Śuddha-Māyā or Mahā-Māyā.[292] The Sāṃkhya 'Prakṛti' or primordial matter and the Advaitic Avidyā are at bottom the same principle except for the distinction that Avidyā or Māyā is not an independent principle but works under the guidance of a higher principle of consciousness Īśvara. The Āgamas, on the other hand, maintain the existence of a Śuddha-Māyā in opposition to the Sāṃkhya Prakṛiti or Advaitic 'Trigūṇātmikā Māyā' for the purpose of Śiva's assuming such pure forms as Īśāna, Tatpurusha, Sadyojāta, Aghora and Vāmadeva, through which He gratifies His worshippers. The reason why the Āgamas pass on beyond the conception of Guṇas, the highest point which materiality can approach, to a higher principle which they call Mahā-Māyā or Bindu, is because in this Śuddha-path of pure principles there can be no bondage of Karma which proceeds from a confusion of Matter with Intelligence.[294] Hence, according to the Liṅgāyata, the Higher Māyā (Ūrddhva-māyā) is determined by the pure limiting-adjunct (Śuddhopādhi) of Sattva alone without any admixture of Rajas and Tamas. She, therefore, does not produce any confusion of knowledge or illusion with respect to the substratum of Consciousness on which She stands (Svāśrayāmohakāriṇī). But Avidyā or 'Lower Māyā' on the contrary, is joined with an impure adjunct of mixed Guṇas, and, therefore, leads to a confused knowledge of

Her 'locus' (Adhishṭhāna-Caitanya). Thus giving birth to illusory forms of perception, this 'Lower Māyā' acts as the 'individualising principle' and brings forth a plurality of Jīvas or individual souls.[295] The Supreme Māyā Śakti, again, expresses Herself in different degrees of consciousness, and becomes three-fold in the form of the three Guṇas. It is then that She gives rise to the three categories of Pati, Pāśa, Paśu or Preraka, Bhojya, and Bhoktā.[296]

If the question is asked: how can this Śakti, which remains without component parts in Śiva, give rise to a world of names and forms which is composed of parts (Sāvayava), the Liṅgāyata answers that it can be maintained exactly in the same manner as the Atomists assert the impartite 'atoms' (Paramāṇu) to produce 'binary compounds' (Dvyaṇuka) and then the world which consists of parts. This apparently impossible task Māyā Śakti can easily accomplish, because She possesses the 'wonderful power of bringing to pass events which ordinarily can never happen' (Aghaṭanaghaṭanapatīyastvam). The whole process of the evolution of Mahā-Māyā, who resides in Śiva as Vimarśa, into the world of multiplicity is beautifully explained by Maritōṇṭadārya in the following passage of his commentary on Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi:—"Vimarśa, the natural Śakti of Brahman, remains eternally non-differentiated from Him (samavetā) in a state of perfect

equilibrium of Jñāna (Intelligence) and Kriyā (Activity). Hence, distinction and non-distinction does not always involve contradiction. If inspite of His ' Nature of Illumination ' (Prakāśarūpatva) Brahman were void of a potential power of Self-cogitation (Svarūpaparāmarśa), He would invariably become a non-intelligent and material thing just like a gem, a mirror or a piece of crystal. But according to the Śruti text—" That supreme Śakti of His is said to be of various characters such as innate Knowledge, Will and Activity "—this Śakti assumes the different names of Cit (Consciousness), Ānanda (Bliss), Icchā (Will), Jñāna (Knowledge) and Kriyā (Activity). Of these, Cit and Ānanda being indivisible do not subject themselves to a process of ' Internal agitation ' (Kshobha), while the remaining three Śakti-elements of Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā on account of their implicit reference to objects (Savishayatvena) lend themselves to such a process of ' objective differentiation.' So from these three aspects the Supreme Vimarśa Śakti partially renounces Her nature of unity and crystallizes Herself, as it were, into the multiple form of three Guṇas, somewhat in the same manner as clarified butter which solidifies in one portion while the other portion remains liquid (Ghṛtakāṭhinya-nyāyena). As the Activity-portion of Vimarśa Śakti cannot completely dissociate itself from the Knowledge-portion and *vice versa*, Her Knowledge-

portion (jñānāṃśa) freed from the Highest Agenthood (*i.e.*, of the Supreme Self, Uttama-kartṛtāvinirmukta) assumes the form of Sattva Guṇa (Manifestability), and is then specifically styled Vidyā Śakti.

In this Sattva form She is called Vidyā because Sattva is the principle of Intelligence which imparts to the devotee the Supreme knowledge of the fundamental unity of Jīva and Śiva. Then Her Kriyā-portion detaches itself from the aspect of a Supreme-Knower (*i.e.*, of Complete I-ness) and becoming slightly mixed up with Sattva and Tamas takes the form of Rajas Śakti. When at last the close interconnection between the two portions of Jñāna and Kriyā as the different aspects of the same Vimarśa is completely lost sight of, leading to an apprehension of their mutual negation (Anyonyābhāvabuddhi), She attains the form of Tamas Śakti. In this way Mahā-Māyā or Vimarśa Śakti by her reflection stirs up within Her own self differentiation as the three potentialities of Guṇas, and through the agency of the latter causes the appearance of the three categories of the 'Enjoyer,' the 'Enjoyed' and the 'Guiding Lord' in the pure Cit-self of Parama-Śiva. But this process of Her gradual manifestation into the 'manifold' of names and forms leaves no room for an anticipation of the Sāṃkhya theory of 'actual material transformation' (Pariṇāma-kṛtaśaṃkāvakāśa)." [297]

In this typically Vīra-Śaivic explanation of the evolution of Mahā-Māyā by Maritōṇṭadārya the most noticeable point is how cleverly he manages to steer clear of the positions of the two most influential schools of Indian Philosophy, *viz.*, the Sāṃkhya and Advaita Vedānta. Following the Pratyabhijñā standpoint of Will-causality, which admits of no ultimate opposition between Matter and Consciousness—both being subsumed under the higher synthetic principle of Vimarśa—Maritōṇṭadārya does not lean to the side of Advaitic Avidyā Śakti and deduce the phenomenal world from Her inexplicable and illusory connection with Brahman, the Highest Reality. Neither does he tend to the other extreme of the Sāṃkhya principle of 'primordial matter' (Prakṛti) composed of three distinct substances (Guṇas)—an entirely independent entity which does not in any real sense enter into relation with the intelligent Reality, Purusha. Unlike the traditional Sāṃkhya view of three ultimate modes of matter, Maritōṇṭadārya offers an original explanation of the Guṇas as 'derived realities,' and traces their origin from a kind of 'apparent dissociation' (Viyoga) of the two portions of Jñāna and Kriyā from one another. Thus the three Guṇas, according to his view, can no longer be regarded as 'radical forms' of matter entirely different from Consciousness, but are really the same principle of the 'Reflection of All-completing

I-ness' only in different degrees of manifestation. Thus deviating from Sāṃkhya and Nirviśesha Advaita, the Liṅgāyata not only gives to this Supreme Vimarśa Śakti characterised by Sat, Cit and Ānanda the name of Ūrdhva-Māyā but also calls Her by such names as Cidaṃbara Śakti.[298] According to Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi it is through this "Prime Energy" of Mahā-Māyā or Vimarśa or Cidaṃbara Śakti that the Supreme Impersonal Śiva assumes the form of a personal Deity with a view to create the world of 'pure and impure paths' (Śuddha and Aśuddha Adhvas). As for pure creation (Śuddhasarga) He first produces through Śakti the Archimagus Brahmā or Hiraṇyagarbha and orders him to create the impure worlds of mobile and immobile objects. Then on being importuned by Brahmā as to the proper method of creation He brought forth through His Śakti the "Pramathas" or a 'class of highly intelligent and powerful beings like unto Himself.' These 'Gaṇas' or ministers of Śiva are supposed to be absolutely free from the impurities of 'Lower Māyā' as they are endowed with the Supreme Knowledge of Śiva's true Self. On these representatives of His Śiva bestowed the powers of creating and destroying the worlds.[299]

Leaving aside the question of pure and impure creation through Śakti, let us see how the Liṅgāyata writers employ the Idea of Śakti in explaining the conception of the Liṅga which forms the

very core of Vīra-Śaiva theology. What the Śrī-vigraha of Kṛishṇa or Nārāyaṇa is to the various schools of Vaishṇavism Śiva in the category of Liṅga is to the Liṅgāyata School. To a Vīra-Śaiva the Liṅga represents the Highest Reality capable of being realised through meditation, worship and devotion. So great importance is attached to this concept or symbol that a Vīra-Śaiva does not feel any hesitation in wearing on his body an actual material representation of this thought-symbol and calling himself a 'Liṅgavant.' The worship of God in a Liṅga-form is undoubtedly of a very ancient origin. Mr. Gopinatha Rao, the author of "Elements of Hindu Iconography," refers to Liṅgam at Gudimallam in South India and examining its sculptural features asserts that it may belong to the period of the Bharhut Sculptures, *i.e.*, 2nd century B.C. From this he also concludes that Liṅga-worship is as old as the 2nd century B.C.[300] The origin of the Liṅga-cult is hid in obscurity. "It has been sought," as Mr. Barth remarks, "at one time among the Dravidian races, at another time among the Western nations, and even among the Greeks."[301] He believes that the Hindus did not import this symbol from any foreign source but found it out by themselves in their search for symbols with figures. There are other scholars who would establish a connection of the Liṅgam with the Śiśna-Deva in the Vedas. Be this as it may, it is not improbable

that the idea of Liṅga-worship originally had much to do with the *phallus* or generative organ symbolizing a 'universal Creative Power.'. Beyond this meaning of creative power the Liṅgam has nothing absolutely to do with the *phallus* in its realistic sense in the Vīra-Śaiva system. After a close examination of twenty or twenty-five important Liṅgāyata texts we have not been able to find out a single trace of a phallic sense of the Liṅgam. On the other hand, we believe that a careful study of Liṅgāyata literature will convince the reader that the Vīra-Śaivas assigned the foremost rank in their system to a thoroughly purified concept of the Liṅgam, taking good care at the same time to remove all immoral implications. Mr. C. P. Brown, one of the most reliable writers on the Liṅgāyata-cult, makes the following emphatic statement with regard to the misinterpretations of this valuable Vīra-Śaivic symbol by European writers :—" This symbol (Liṅgam) is as separate from indecency in the Hindu mind as circumcision is in the Mahomedan mind. The Brahmins with their usual love of filth have connected a variety of obscenities with Liṅga-worship, but these are wholly unknown to the Jaṅgamas, who look upon this idol just as the Catholics do upon a reliquary with deep veneration—

> " Hanging a golden stamp about their necks
> Put on with holy prayers "
>
> —Macbeth, IV, 3.

......some very obscene stories regarding the origin of the Liṅgam have been published by various European authors. These stories (with which I never met in Hindu authors) are perhaps Brahminical ; they have nothing to do with the Jaṅgamas ; in their books there is no mention of the subject; and I have not met with any Jaṅgama acquainted with these fables.'' [302] Much harm has thus been done to many of the Śaiva schools of thought by well-known European writers, in whose minds the idea of the Liṅgaṁ is, somehow or other, so closely associated with the phallus that they cannot but see some hidden trace of 'phallic obscenity' even in the highest philosophical interpretation of Liṅgam by some of the masterly writers of this school.

When, for example, Oriental scholars of the stamp of Mr. Barth and Mr. Hopkins write in a highly deprecatory manner about the creeds and customs of Vīra-Śaivas as involving 'grossest superstitions' and 'Śiva-worship in its grossest form, the adoration of the Liṅga (Phallus),' we do not know indeed what to say. We quote below the actual words of these two well-known writers on Indian Religious Systems, so that the reader can judge for himself whether the Liṅgāyatas really merit this sort of reproach from authors who probably never cared to read any of their authoritative texts :—
" In passing,'' says Mr. Barth, " from this system (*i.e.*, the Pratyabhijñā of Kashmere), which

we know only in its learned form, to the sect of the Liṅgāyits, which is known to us as a popular religion, we descend from the heights of the Timaeus down to the level of the grossest superstitions.'' Then Mr. Hopkins says: "Thus what philosophy the Jaṅgamas professedly have is Vedantic, but in fact they are deistic (not pantheistic) disciples of Śiva's priest Basava, who taught Śiva-wor ship in its grossest form, the adoration of the Liṅga (Phallus); while his adherents, who are spread all over India under the name of Jaṅgamas or Liṅgāyits, are idolatrous deists with but a tinge of Vedāntic mysticism.'' [303]

Now, our point of contention is that whatever obscene and sexual significance the Liṅgam might originally have possessed in connection with the phallic cult, which is, more or less, to be found amongst all the peoples of the world at some period or other, the Liṅgayatas accepted this symbol in an absolutely purified character because of its simplicity of form, and gave an entirely new meaning to it. Thus they gave up the true etymological sense of Liṅgam, which means a 'mark' or a 'sign' pointing out the 'male' or 'female' character of beings, and took it as derived from two roots "Lī,'' to dissolve, and "Gaṃ,'' to 'go out,' affirming that it means the 'Ultimate' Reality into whose self 'all the creatures of the world dissolve and out of whom they all evolve again.' The Siddhānta-Śikhāmaṇi, for instance, thus

explains the meaning of Liṅgam. "He into whose self all the gods such as Brahmā, Vishṇu, etc., and all the branches of Scriptural learning such as the Vedas, the Āgamas, etc., dissolve and again come out is the Liṅgam, the Highest Brahman. There is no other principle higher than Liṅga, because the world originates from it, persists in it, and finally merges into it." [304]

It is the Supreme Brahman alone that becomes the Liṅgam or the Highest Illumination of Cit (Paraṃ Jyotiḥ) characterised by Ānanda (Bliss) and Sattā (Existence) for the purpose of worship and fulfilment of the pious actions of His devotees. The Sūkshma Āgama, a professedly Vīra-Śaivic work, thus explains the significance of the Liṅgam :—"The Liṅgam is unconditioned and without any concrete form. It appears to shine like a column of Light' (Tejaḥ-stambhāya-mānam), throwing out an effulgence of a million suns. It is beyond the reach of ordinary senses because it has no material shape. This Liṅgam of Supreme Illumination can be inwardly perceiv-ed only through meditation by a pure mind." [305] Further on, in the 6th Paṭala this Āgama endeavours to explain the Liṅgam through such principles as the Nāda, or Elemental Sound or Logos, Bindu or the Supreme Śakti, and Kalā or rather Cit-Kalā, the 'digit or Śiva's active nature of Consciousness.' Evidently, the Liṅgam is here explained as a union of both the 'male' and the

'female' principles of the universe, *i. e.* Prakāśa and Vimarśa, or Śiva and Śakti. Therefore, it comprises the factors of Nāda, Bindu, and Kalā. Thus the Āgama says :—"Śiva in the character of Nāda or Elemental Sound is really denoted by the term Liṅgam. Its basis (tatpīṭhikā), the Supreme Śakti, is really the Bindu. Kalā establishes herself in the Liṅga only because there Śiva and Śakti become united. This Kalā, or the 'digit of Śiva's creative nature,' is highly subtle and runs through all things at all times and places like the oil in the sesamum seed or the fragrance in the flower. She should be seen through the 'eyes of knowledge' by means of a gracious look from the Guru. Hence comprising the Nāda, Bindu, and Kalā it is known as Liṅgam because all the extended worlds of names and forms merge in it at the time of Cosmic Dissolution and come out of it again at the beginning of a new creation. This Liṅgam is verily of the nature of both Śiva and Śakti (Śiva-Śaktyubhayātmakam). So all those who desire higher spiritual enjoyment (Bhukti) or final emancipation should worship and meditate on it." [306]

From these two passages quoted above from two of the most authoritative texts of the Liṅgāyatas it can be easily seen how lofty and edifying a conception the Liṅgam is in the Vīra-Śaiva system. In none of these two works can be found a single sentence which conveys obscene phallic sense as

some European writers would have us believe. A similar examination of other treatises also confirms the same fact. To assume the form of a Personal God capable of fulfilling the earnest desires of devotees and leading them to salvation naturally implies the conception of an Active God possessed of all forms of Divine Power or Śakti, and not an Unconditioned Pure Being who remains perfectly inactive (Kūṭastha). Herein comes the theological necessity of maintaining a Śakti-principle. Now the conception of Liṅgam, as it is formed by a combination of Śiva and Śakti, fully meets the requirements of an earnest devotee of Śiva who is impelled by a spiritual yearning after the 'gracious personality' of a God who can listen to his prayers and help him out of the mire of earthly existence by infusing into him something of His own active nature.[307] This Śiva can do only in the Liṅga-form by sending out His Kalā or 'the digit of active nature' (this Kalā being only one of the component factors of the Liṅga), who weaves herself into the very texture of human beings and rouses him to an act of 'conscious spiritual effort.' Thus, according to Vīra-Śaivism without the idea of Śakti the conception of Liṅga becomes impossible. Even in the Mahā-Liṅga, which is indefinable and unqualified (Aparicchedya), Śakti remains in the subtle form of Vimarśa. Following the Āgamic dictum:—" Kriyā Śakti or the active nature of Śiva, stands as the

basis (Pīṭhikā, as the 'yoni' or receptacle of Liṅgam, *i.e.*, the Āgamic Ādhāra Sakti) of Jñāna Sakti, the very self of the Lord" Siva-yogi Reṇuka shows how the idea of Sakti is indispensably associated with the conception of Liṅgam on the ground that it is through the idea of Sakti alone that the world, which reveals a union of 'male' and 'female' powers in the sphere of life which continues by a process of reproduction, can be viewed as an outer expression of Liṅgam." "The Supreme Sakti," he says, "is the basis. Liṅgam is the veritable Siva Himself. Because of this union of Siva and Sakti the universe is called the Liṅgam of Siva." [308] Hence, ultimately Liṅga through the medium of the Sakti-idea points out the highest truth of Vīra-Saivism, *viz.*, that the world, as it consists of both Cit and Kriyā (as can be seen from the fact that all creatures are endowed with two kinds of organs—perceptive and operative), is essentially one with Siva's nature composed of Cit (Prakāśa) and Kriyā (Vimarśa). It is interesting to note how through this idea of Sakti the Liṅgāyatas also bring the Jīva into closer relationship with Siva in the category of Liṅga. Here, too, the Lingāyatas strictly conform to Āgamic doctrines. For, according to their view, the Saivī Kalā or the Supreme Kriyā Sakti of Siva residing in the Liṅgam enters into the Jīva and operates in the form of Jīva-Kalā or Prāṇa-Sakti. Thus the Jīva and Siva are in reality the same

entity. It is only due to the 'outward modification' (Bahirmukhā vṛtti) of the 'Lower Māyā Śakti' that the Jīva conceives himself as an individual being. He who knows this essential one-ness of Prāṇa and Liṅga is called a Prāṇa-Liṅgī, and the Yogic method of such meditation is technically called Prāṇa-liṅgisthala, one of the 101 Sthalas of Vīra-Śaivism.[309] It is from this standpoint of Śakti that the Jīva is to meditate on his own self as the Satī or the devoted spouse of the Liṅgam, who is the Lord, Pati, and turn away his thoughts from all other things. This form of meditation is technically known as Śaraṇa or taking ultimate resort to the Liṅgam.[310] Here it must not be forgotten that this relationship between a husband and wife is at best an analogy and as such should not be pressed too far. This analogy, as employed by the Vīra-Śaivas, does not indicate any sexual union in its realistic sense, but only serves to point out the nature of 'ecstatic joy' which follows the actual realisation of 'true fellowship' with God. This tendency of explaining the higher spiritual happenings in terms of ordinary human experience of life is not peculiar to Indian Religious Systems only, but is common to mystics of all ages, either Eastern or Western. Even as early as the time of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad we find Yājñavalkya, one of the foremost seers of the Vedic age, likens this mystic union of human soul with God to the deep conjugal embrace which

locks the couple in utter oblivion of self and things around.[311] Once this interpretation of the Liṅgam as 'Cidākāra' or 'Cidānandamaya' is accepted, its worship no longer retains an external character of idolatry (Bāhyapūjā), but becomes an altogether 'internal affair' of meditation (manana) and trance (samādhi). This 'Mānasapūjā,' which is more or less elaborately explained in all the extant Āgamas, is beautifully summarised in the following remarks of Śiva-yogī Reṇuka :—

"This internal Liṅgam, of the form of Cit and pervaded by the Parama-Śiva, is to be worshipped by the flowers of (specific) mental attitude (Bhāvapushpa). Hence this worship in the heart-lotus is known as the 'adoration of Prāṇa-Liṅga.' In this worship Forbearance (Kshamā) is the water of ablution (abhishekasalila), Spiritual discrimination (Viveka) is the cloth, Truthfulness the ornaments, Renunciation the flower-garland, Undiverted Attention the scent, Disinterestedness the rice-grains, Faith the incense, the Great Knowledge (revealing the truth of the universe) the lamp, Destruction of Prapañca (the extended world of names and forms), which has Avidyā as its root, the offering, Silence the tolling of bells, Offering up of earthly enjoyments the betel-offering, avoidance of the error of earthly objects (Vishaya-bhrānti), the act of circumambulation (Pradakshiṇa), and the intellectual power of dissolving one's self into the Liṅgam is the

Namaskāra or the act of bowing." [312] Reṇuka emphatically affirms that those who worship Śiva in a material Liṅgam with external rites, giving up the true worship of the 'internal Liṅgam of Light,' are gross fools.[313] We fail to understand how in the face of such unmistakably clear assertions of Reṇukācārya as to the real significance of Liṅga and its adoration, Mr. Barth could make such a misleading statement 'that with the Liṅgāyatas we come to a level of the grossest superstitions.' Even Basava, as Mr. Hopkins has observed, does not teach Śiva-worship in its grossest form, the adoration of the Liṅgam (phallus). Let us see what Basava says about the meaning of Liṅgam in some of the Vacanas attributed to him. In one of them, dwelling on Aikyasthala, he says :—" I know not the earth, the sky or the ten quarters. I do not understand them. They say, 'the whole universe is contained in the centre of the Liṅga,' but like a hailstone I fell into the midst of the ocean ; I am overwhelmed in the happiness of the touch of the Liṅga ; and am saying only 'God,' knowing nothing of duality." Now, Basava certainly can never mean an ordinary phallic emblem of stone or other metals by the term Liṅga when he speaks of an 'overwhelming happiness in the touch of the Liṅga' and quotes in approval an ancient saying 'that the whole world is the centre of the Liṅga.' If one goes carefully through the Vacanas attributed to

him it will be quite clear to him that Basava never meant to teach 'the grossest form of Siva-worship, the adoration of the Liṅga (phallus).'

Let us also consider the following Vacanas where Basava speaks of the Liṅga:—"O when shall I gaze at the Liṅga in my palm with my eyes showering down limitless tears? O when shall the sight of the Liṅga be my life? O when shall union with the Liṅga be my life? When shall I lose all connection with my bodily disorders, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, and say continuously, Liṅga, Liṅga, Liṅga." They say that the dining plate is the right receptacle for the Liṅga. But the dining plate is not the right receptacle for the Liṅga. For the Liṅga one's own mind is the right receptacle. If you know how to offer your own soul without indifference, with a pure heart, Kudalasaṅgama Deva will remain in you. O consider if iron cannot remain iron after contact with the Parusha (*i.e.*, Sparśa-maṇi), then one should not have mean qualities after contact with the Liṅga; for the servants of our Kudalasaṅgama Deva should possess no other qualities than His. You can see Liṅga in the mirror of a devotee's face....Destructive weeds have grown in uncultivated soil. They do not allow me to understand, nor do they allow me to awake. Root out these weeds of wickedness and protect me. O Father Liṅga, there I shall plough and cultivate." [314] These Vacaṇas make it absolutely clear that Basava was no fool to address

the ordinary material Liṅgam, much less a phallic image, as the Father Liṅga, or to say that the stone image of a Liṅgam can be seen in the mirror of a devotee's face.

CHAPTER IV

Śakti in Mīmāṃsā and the Other Orthodox Systems

The Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy brings in the idea of Śakti or an impelling agency of force in connection with the topic of Apūrva, which acts as an intermediary principle between sacrificial performances and their results such as heaven, victory, etc. On this Apūrva as a Śakti Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā remarks as follows: "It does not appear quite reasonable that momentarily disappearing actions should bring about any such future effects, as the attainment of Heaven and the like. But the fact is that from certain Vedic passages we come to know of the enjoyed and prohibited actions to bring about certain results; and in order to render reasonable the production of future effects by means of momentarily disappearing actions we assume certain intervening transcendental agencies in the shape of "Puṇya" (Virtue) and "Pāpa" (Vice). Thus then, the causing of the attainment of Heaven by sacrifices is not immediate but indirect through the unseen agency of virtue. This is what is called the 'unseen force' (Adṛshṭa) leading to a particular effect; and the cause of this unseen force is the

primary action, fitted up with all its various subsidiaries preceding and following it and not the primary action itself." (*Cf.* Preface to the Translation of the Śloka-vārttika, Bibliotheca Indica edition.) In discussing the Śūnya-doctrine of the Buddhists Kumārila admits the existence of Śakti as a category which determines from what cause what effect should be produced (*cf.* "Pratikāryaṃ vyavasthitā"). He attacks the Buddhist position of Śūnya, and says that as the adversary does not admit the real existence of such accessory causes (Sahakāri) as Space, Time, etc., and admits "Vāsanā" or 'Clinging Desire' as Śakti, which, again, is not for any permanent self but rather inheres (Āhita) in a thing which is momentary, there cannot be any reason why from the knowledge of cause (*e.g.*, Tantu) the effect (*e.g.*, Paṭa) should not always and at all places immediately proceed (*cf.* Śloka-Vārttika, ślokas 247-258 and also the Nyāya-ratnākara on them). In the chapter on Arthāpattti Kumārila maintains that the existence of Śakti in the matter of causality can be known only by "Arthāpatti" or Apparent Inconsistency and not by any inferential process which involves a causal connection between the Middle term and the Sādhya. This is so because the knowledge of such Śakti (Śakti-jñāna) does not depend on any perception of relation. In the case of any thing which is a term of relation the knowledge of that thing to which it is related is necessary

for its knowledge. Śakti cannot be thus known in relation because she is not capable of being directly perceived (Pratyaksha-grahaṇa, *cf.* verses 46-49). The principle of Śakti is also introduced by Kumārila in connection with the question of the Universal and Particular as the object of the indication of Śabda (Sāmānya-viśesha). He holds the view that Śabdas or words have the Śakti or capability of indicating the 'Class-notion' or commonality. If this Śakti or capability of words, he argues, is in the Individual (Vyakti) to bring about ideas of generality (Sāmānya), without admitting a separate entity (in the form of "class"), of what sort would be the capability of denotation for such a person ? (*i.e.*, the Vācya-śakti)? (1) Will this capability be cognisable or non-cognisable, and (2) will it be different in each individual, or one (and the same for all)? If it becomes one and cognisable, then, in other words, it must be only a class. If, again, this Śakti becomes non-cognisable (agrāhyatve), then the idea (of Singleness or Commonality) becomes devoid of any basis (and as such false) because no object is accepted by mere existence (unless it is cognised actually in some form or other). Thus in the course of arguing that the Śakti or capability (cognisable) of a word to signify "sāmānya" cannot belong to an Individual Kumārila arrives at the notion of the existence of Sāmānya or Jāti, that is, the idea of Single Commonality as the

natural property of Individuals, which he also calls Śakti. Thus establishing Sāmānya or Class-notion, he argues that its manifestation would depend on certain capabilities in the Individuals composing it. It is therefore, this "Class" which when manifested by an Individual, becomes its Śakti. This Śakti or capability is not in all Individuals, but in some only. That is why the Class "Gotva" is not perceived in the presence of any and every individual (*e.g.*, horses or elephants), but only in that of individual cows. No exception can be taken to this 'Capability,' which is natural, just as we cannot take exception to the 'burning capability' of fire and not the Ākāśa. This Śakti or 'a Single Capability' as the controlling agent (of such relation as that between the Individuals and the Class) is established by Arthāpatti Pramāṇa or Apparent Inconsistency.

This Śakti or Capability, according to Kumārila, cannot itself become the object of the Single notion of Commonality for two reasons: (1) because it cannot be perceived directly by the senses and (2) also because according to Mīmāṃsā no idea can exist without a reality as its counterpart (*cf.* Ākṛtivāda—verses 12-29 and 41, 42, Śloka-Vārttika). Thus we can see how the Mīmāṃsaka is almost forced to admit Śakti as a mere logical category like the Nyāya and the Vaiśeshika in its special form of Apūrva to establish a causal connection between the sacrificial act and its future

results. In this system Śakti is not the Supreme Śakti of Vimarśa raised to the higher metaphysical ground of the Ultimate Principle of all creation. This explains the great difference in the attachment of a higher value and importance to Śakti in the Kashmere and Liṅgāyata systems as we have shown before.

In the Advaita School Saṃkara no doubt admits Śakti as a determinative category in the Cause when he affirms in his Śārīraka Bhāshya :—
" Śaktiś ca Kāraṇasya kāryaniyamārthā kalpyamānā nānyā nāpi asatī vā kāryaṃ niyacchet." Elsewhere in the same work he calls Avidyā or Māyā a " Great Śakti " enveloping the Jīvas, who are totally ignorant of the true nature of the Real Self. But thus far he goes and no further. Vidyāraṇya, the author of the well-known work Pañcadaśī expressly calls Māyā a Śakti, and devotes a long chapter at the end of the manual to it, in which he dwells at great length on the nature of Śakti from the Advaita point of view. But this system never recognises Śakti as a real principle and non-different (in substance) from the Highest Brahman. Thus Śakti practically loses her real metaphysical value in the system.

The Sāṃkhya Pradhāna or Prakṛti is no doubt essentially a principle of Śakti from which all subtle and gross matter proceed. But she is never regarded in this dualistic system as the active

nature of the Intelligent Principle, Purusha and, therefore, does not enjoy the proper position that she ought to have. This comparison with the treatment of Śakti in the Six Orthodox Systems enables us to understand clearly how Śakti as the Supreme Svātantrya Power of Śiva in Trika was a very important departure from these systems, and reflects not a little originality of thought on the part of its advocates. It is the Kashmere Trika that never lost sight of the Śvetāśvatara hint at 'Supreme Śakti belonging to God,' and restored her to her proper position in the sphere of higher metaphysical speculation.

APPENDIX

[1] मालिनीविजयोत्तर, प्रथम अध्याय, Sls. 17-18 :—

"तत्रेशः सर्व्वकृच्छान्तः सर्व्वज्ञः सर्व्वकृत् प्रभुः
सकलो निष्कलोऽनन्तः शक्तिरप्यस्य तद्विधा ॥"

[2] तृतीय अधिकार, Sl. 5 :—

"या सा शक्तिर्जगद्धातुः कथिता समवायिनी ।
इच्छात्वं तस्य सा देवि सिसृक्षोः प्रतिपद्यते ॥"

[3] Sl. 979, मालिनीवार्त्तिक :—

"शिवोऽविच्युतचिद्रूपस्तिस्रस्तत्शक्तयस्तु याः ।
ताः स्वातन्त्र्यवशोपात्तग्रहितृग्राह्यरूपिकाः ॥"

[4] *Cf.* also under पञ्चम आह्निक, Sl. 8, ईश्वर-प्रत्यभिज्ञा :—

"परामर्शलक्षणं तु स्वातन्त्र्यं यदि भवति तदा उपपद्यते सर्व्वम् । परामर्शो हि चिकीर्षारूपा इच्छा, तस्याश्च सर्व्वम् अन्तर्भूतं निर्मातव्यम् अभेदरूपेण आस्ते, etc."

[5] For the definition of विमर्श *cf.* पुण्यानन्द's कामकलाविलास, page 2 :—

"स्वात्मसात्कृताखिलप्रपञ्चः परिपूर्णाहंभावभावनागर्भितः, अथवा जगदुत्पत्ति-स्थितिलयहेतुभूतात्मविमाहम् इति परामर्शो विमर्शः ।

Cf. also Īśv. Pr. Sl. 1. 5. 14 :—

"सा स्फुरत्ता महासत्ता देशकालाविशेषिणी ।
सैषा सारतया प्रोक्ता हृदयं परमेष्ठिनः ॥"

[6] कामकलाविलास, commentary under Sl. 2 :—

सा जयति शक्तिराद्या निजसुखमय-नित्यनिरुपमाकारा ।
भाविचराचरबीजं शिवरूपनिर्मलविमलादर्शं ॥

…… यथा कश्चिद् राजा अतिसुन्दरः स्वात्माभिमुखस्थितस्वच्छादर्शतले स्वात्मप्रतिबिम्बं सम्यक् प्रसमीक्ष्य तत्प्रतिबिम्बम् अहमिति जानाति, एवं परमेश्वरोऽपि स्वाधीनभूतां स्वात्मशक्तिं सम्यग् अवलोक्य स्वस्वरूपम् अवगच्छति ।

[7] *Cf.* महेश्वरानन्द's महार्थमञ्जरी, Sl. 14 and its commentary—

"स एव विश्वमीषितुं ज्ञातुं कर्तुञ्च उन्मुखीभवन्।

शक्तिस्वभावः कथितो हृदयत्रिकोणमधुमांसलोल्लासः॥

यः उक्तस्वभावः शिवः स एव शक्तिस्वभावः कथितः, तस्यैव किञ्चिद् उच्छूनतायां या अवस्था तया शक्तिशब्दव्यपदेश्यः इत्यर्थः, etc."

[8] *Cf.* पराविंशिका, Sl. 24:—

"यथा न्यग्रोधबीजस्थः शक्तिरूपो महाद्रुमः।

तथा हृदयबीजस्थं जगद् एतच्चराचरम्॥"

[9] *Cf.* विवृति of शिवोपाध्याय, Sl. 53, विज्ञानभैरव:—

"वस्तुतश्च इयम् अक्रमा एव पारमेश्वरी शक्तिः स्फुरति, तत्रापि च स्वस्वातन्त्र्यात् दर्पणनगरवत् क्रमम् अपि आदर्शयति, क्रमोऽपि पूर्वं पूर्वम् उत्तरव्यापकतया स्थितं मृद् इव घटादौ उत्तरं तु पूर्वत्र शक्त्यात्मना स्थितं वृक्ष इव स्वबीजे इति सर्वं सर्वात्मकम्।"

[10] *Cf.* मालिनीविजयोत्तर, द्वितीय अधिकार, Sl. 29:—

"शक्तिशम्भू परिज्ञेयौ तुर्यातीते वरानने।"

Cf. also for the idea that the concept of शक्ति is simply employed for denoting शम्भु, Sl. 12:—

"वाचकत्वेन सर्वापि शम्भोः शक्तिश्च शास्यते।"

[11] अनुत्तरप्रकाशपञ्चाशिका, Sl. 9:—

"प्रकाशोऽनन्यतो भावः स्वातन्त्र्योल्लासकेवलः।

परिच्छिन्नात्मिका शक्तिः शम्भोर्विश्वातिशायिनः॥"

[12] Sl. 190:—

"अनुत्तरानन्दमयो देवो भोक्तैव कथ्यते।

इच्छादिकं भोग्यमेव तत एवास्य शक्तिता॥"

[13] *Cf.* जयरथ's विवेक under Sl. 106:—

[14] *Cf.* बोधपञ्चाशिका, Sl. 2:—

[15] *Cf.* ईश्वर-प्रत्यभिज्ञा—

"तस्मात् स्वातन्त्र्यशून्यताभासनेन स्वातन्त्र्ययुक्तताभासनेन च यदिदम् उभयं ज्ञेयम् आत्मरूपमेव परमेश्वरो भासयति तद् विमर्शबलात् इति सैव प्रधानम्।"

[16] Īśv. Pr. V., under Sl. 10, प्रथम अध्याय, पञ्चम आह्निक :—

"तच्च सदैव प्रकाशस्य प्रमातृत्वात् तदात्मतया च विना प्रकाशमानस्य अवस्तुत्वात्, किन्तु अहम् इति उचिते परामर्शे योऽयम् इदंतापरामर्शः सैव बाह्यता।"

[17] *Cf.* Bradley's Appearance and Reality, Chapter 27, page 551.

[18] *Cf.* Īśv. Pr. V., under Sl. 1. 5. 13 :—

"चेतयति इत्यत्र या चितिः चितिक्रिया तस्याः प्रत्यवमर्शः स्वात्मचमत्कारलक्षणः आत्मा स्वभावः, etc."

Cf. also षट्त्रिंशतितत्त्वसन्दोह, commentary on Sl. 2.

[19] *Cf.* षट्त्रिंशतितत्त्वसन्दोह, Sl. 2, commentary :—

"परमेश्वर एव हि स्वैश्वर्योच्छलत्तया पूर्णाहन्ताचमत्कारतारतम्येन शक्तिदशाम् अधिशेते इति अत्र आनन्दशक्तिप्राधान्यम्।"

[20] *Cf.* Īśv. Pr. V., 1. 5. 13 :—

"तथाहि घटेन स्वात्मनि न चमत्क्रियते स्वात्मा न परामृश्यते, न स्वात्मनि तेन प्रकाश्यते, न अपरिच्छिन्नतया भास्यते ततो न तेन चेत्यते इति उच्यते, etc."

[21] *Cf.* note No. 19.

[22] *Cf.* the remark :—फलभेदात् आरोपितभेदः पदार्थात्मा शक्तिः quoted from Īśv. Pr. V. in the commentary on विज्ञानभैरवः, Sl. 19.

पदार्थ is translated as category in the sense of anything which is an object of knowledge, and implies not only a thing which is predicable of another but also a thing which is capable of having anything predicated of it.

[23] *Cf.* मालिनीविजय, 3.5 :—

"या सा शक्तिर्जगद्धातुः कथिता समवायिनी।
इच्छात्वं तस्य सा देवि सिसृक्षोः प्रतिपद्यते॥

[24] *Cf.* अन्नम्भट्ट's explanation of समवाय in तर्कसंग्रह, Mr. Athalya's edition, page 61.

"नित्यसम्बन्धः समवायोऽयुतसिद्धवृत्तिः। ययोर्द्वयोर्मध्ये एकम् अविनश्यद् अपराश्रितम् एवावतिष्ठते तावयुतसिद्धौ। यथावयवावयविनौ गुणगुणिनौ क्रियाक्रियावन्तौ जातिव्यक्ती विशेषनित्यद्रव्ये चेति।"

[25] *Cf.* कल्लट's स्पन्दकारिका, No. 18:—

"ज्ञानज्ञेयस्वरूपिण्या शक्त्या परमया युतः।
पदद्वये विभुर्भाति तदन्यत्र तु चिन्मयः॥"

Cf. also मुकुन्दराम's commentary on it:—

"परमेश्वर एव स्वमायाशक्तिमहिम्ना विचित्रचैत्रभावेन प्रथमानः स्वाव्यतिरेकिणीं परां शक्तिं पदद्वये जाग्रत्स्वप्नाख्ये अभ्यन्तरकरणसुखादिना बहिष्करणनीलादिना च आभास्य तत्तद्दशाव्यवहारान् उद्भावयति परन्तु एतदेव शक्तेः परत्वं यत् शिवप्रकाशम् अतिरोधाय अनन्तवैभवेन स्फुरणं, सुषुप्ततुर्ययोस्तु विभक्तभिन्नसंवेदनीयाभावात् स्वात्मनि समरसीभूतशक्तिरीश्वर एव प्रकाशते।"

[26] *Cf.* रामकण्ठ's विवृति on कारिका 1:—

"सा (*i.e.*, इच्छा, the निमित्त of निमेष and उन्मेष) च अव्यतिरिक्ता शङ्करस्य शक्तिः, तदवगमे एव च आत्मैश्वर्यप्रत्यभिज्ञालक्षणसिद्धिहेतुः। स च दिदृक्षयैव सर्वार्थान् (3.1) इत्यत्र वक्ष्यमाणन्यायेन सांसारिकपुरुषप्रसिद्धेच्छासादृश्यात् तदवगमोपायतया इच्छाशब्देन व्यपदिश्यते।"

[27] *Cf.* अभिनव's परमार्थसार Sl. and also योगराज's commentary:—

"भारूपम् परिपूर्णं स्वात्मनि विश्रान्तितो महानन्दम्।
इच्छासंवित्करणैर्निर्भरितम् अनन्तशक्तिपरिपूर्णम्॥"

"स्वस्मिन् स्वभावे अखण्डाहन्ताचमत्काररसे विश्रामात् महान् आनन्दः परनिर्वृतिः यस्य इति। तत एवं परमाह्लादकस्फुरत्तासारत्वात् प्रकाश्यस्फटिकादेः जड़ाद् वैलक्षण्यम् उक्तम् इति। इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिस्वभावम् एव न पुनः शान्तब्रह्म-वादिनामिव शक्तिविरहितं जड़कल्पम्।"

[28] "यथा हि पुरुषस्य इच्छावस्थायाम् इष्यमाणः पदार्थः स्वरूपाव्यतिरेकेणैव अवतिष्ठते, तथा भगवतः शक्तौ अनन्तावभासविशेषचित्रं जगत् मनागप्यनुपजातविशेषात् स्वरूपात् अव्यतिरेकेण इव अवतिष्ठते।"

रामकण्ठ's विवृति, 1. 1.

[29] *Ibid*—"सा परमेश्वरस्य स्वरूपाद् अभिन्ना शक्तिरेकैव तात्त्विकी इदमिति-परामर्शभेदमात्रजन्मना तु नानानामरूपविभक्तभावभेदेन अवभासमाना सती बहुत्वेन व्यपदिष्टा शक्तीनां चक्रम् इति। शक्तिशब्देन च भावव्यक्तीनां व्यपदेशे परमेश्वरात् शक्तिमतो भेदभावप्रतिपादनमेव प्रयोजनम्।"

[30] *Cf.* विज्ञानभैरव, Sl. 18:—

"शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्यद्वद् अभेदः सर्व्वदा स्थितः।

अतस्तद्धर्म्मधर्म्मित्वात् पराशक्तिः परात्मनः॥"

[31] *Ibid*, Sl. 19:—"न वह्नेर्दाहिका शक्तिर्व्यतिरिक्ता विभाव्यते।"
Also Sl. 21:—

"यथालोकेन दीपस्य किरणैर्भास्करस्य च।

ज्ञायते दिग्विभागादि तद्वत् शक्त्या शिवः प्रिये॥"

[32] *Cf.* commentary on विज्ञानभैरव, Sl. 19.

[33] "कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवत् प्रकाशते।"

[34] "फलभेदादारोपितभेदः पदार्थात्मा शक्तिः"—प्रत्यभिज्ञा।

[35] *Cf.* षट्त्रिंशतितत्त्वसन्दोह—

"तस्य स्वाभिन्ना स्वतन्त्रेच्छाशक्तिरेव उद्भविष्यतो विषयस्य स्वान्तर्निलीनत्वात् बीजभूता शक्तितत्त्वतां याति, शक्तेः शक्तिमद्धर्म्मित्वेऽपि नान्यदर्शनाभिमतवत् तस्मात् व्यतिरेकः, etc."

[36] "शक्तिश्च शक्तिमद्रूपाद् व्यतिरिक्तं न वाञ्छति।

तादात्म्यमनयोर्न्नित्यं वह्निदाहिकयोरिव॥"

[37] *Cf.* सांख्यकारिका, No. 27, and also वाचस्पतिमिश्र's तत्त्वकौमुदी—

"आलोचितमिन्द्रियेण वस्त्विदम् इति सम्मुग्धमिदमेवं नैवमिति सम्यक् कल्पयति नियम्य दर्शयति विशेष्यविशेषणभावेन विवेचयति इति यावत्।"

also "ततः परं पुनर्वस्तु धर्म्मैर्जात्यादिभिर्यया।

बुद्ध्यावसीयते सा हि प्रत्यक्षत्वेन सम्मता॥"

[38] रामकण्ठ's विवृति on स्पन्दकारिका, 4.16:—

"तदेवं तत्त्वद्वयं शिवशक्त्याख्यं, यदभिन्नमपि स्वरूपप्रतिपादनान्यथानुपपत्त्या विभज्य तत्त्वविद्भिः प्रकाश्यते। तथा च तत्त्वगर्भस्तोत्रे गुरुभिः सततमविलुप्तोपलब्धलक्षणस्वधर्म्मरूपायाः शक्तेः प्राधान्यप्रतिपादनाभिप्रायेण शिवत्वमेवमस्तूयत—

यस्या निरुपधिज्योतीरूपायाः शिवसंज्ञया।

व्यपदेशः परां तां त्वामम्बां नित्यमुपास्महे॥"

[39] तन्त्रालोक, Sl. 100:—

"अस्यास्यदेकरूपेण वपुषा चेन्महेश्वरः

महेश्वरत्वं संवित्त्वं तदात्यक्षत् घटादिवत्।"

[40] *Cf.* जयरथ's विवेक on तन्त्रालोक, Sl. 100 :—

"यदि नाम महेश्वरः प्रतिनियतेन केनचिद्रूपेण अवतिष्ठेत, तदास्य घटादिन्यायेन माहेश्वर्य्यं संविद्रूपत्वं च न स्यात्, एतदेव हि अस्य माहेश्वर्य्यं संविद्रूपत्वं च यत् तत्तदनियतवाच्यवाचकात्मना परिस्फुरेदिति, ... किन्तु स एव स्वभावो यः स्वातन्त्र्यमिति माहेश्वर्य्यम् इति च सर्व्वत्रोद्घोष्यते, तत्प्रतिनियतेऽस्य स्वरूपे प्रकाशमाने माहेश्वर्य्यं संविद्रूपत्वम् च न स्यादिति जाड्यमेव आपतेत्। जड़ एव हि घटादिरिदम् इदानीमत्र भाति इत्येवम् आत्मनियतावभासो भवेत् न तु परः प्रकाशः।"

[41] This does not profess to be a chronologically worked out theory, but is simply a psychological justification of the inner working of the mind of Trika writers that led to the concrete development of the शक्ति-idea. The main reason seems to be this that when शक्ति standing for the inner nature was scooped out of शिव and placed side by side with Him as the mother of all diversities there remained no other alternative but to turn away from शिव who was thus rendered hollow and henceforth to regard शक्ति as the 'sole principle of all becoming.'

[42] *Cf.* मालिनीविजयोत्तर, प्रथम अधिकार, Sl. 8.

[43] *Ibid*, 3, 4, also 1. 25. 35.

[44] *Ibid*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 अधिकारs.

[45] *Ibid*, 3, 25-29, 34-35, 52, also 18, 37-39.

[46] *Ibid*, नवम and एकादश अधिकारs.

[47] At the very outset of मालिनी we find that the sages नारद, अगस्त्य, संवर्त्त, वशिष्ठ and others come to कुमार, the destroyer of the demon तारक, and say that they have come to him desirous of proper success in योग।

Cf. मालिनी, 1. 2-5, 10-14.

[48] *Cf.* *Ibid*, 7. 1. The twenty-six postures are :—

1. त्रिशूलम्, 2. पद्मम्, 3. शक्तिः, 4. चक्रम्, 5. वज्रम्, 6. दण्डः, 7. दंष्ट्रम्, 8. महाप्रेता, 9. महामुद्रा, 10. खगेश्वरी, 11. महोदया, 12. कराला, 13. खट्वाङ्गम्, 14. कपालम्, 15. हलम्, 16. पाशम्, 17. अङ्कुशम्, 18. घण्टा,

19. विशिखमुद्गरः, 20. आवह्नस्थापनी, 21. स्थापनी, 22. रोधा, 23. द्रव्यदा, 24. नतिः, 25. अमिता, 26. योगमुद्रा ।

[49] मालिनी 8, 44, 176.

[50] *Ibid*, 11, 4, 29.

[51] *Ibid*, 15, 45, 46.

[52] *Ibid*, 18, 29, 32.

[53] *Ibid*, 11, 10 also 19, 58.

"यो यत्राङ्गे स्थितो वर्णः कुलशक्तिसमुद्भवः ।
तं तत्रैव समाधाय स्वरूपेणैव योगवित् ॥"

[54] विज्ञानभैरवः—"श्रीदेव्युवाच भैरव उवाच, etc."

Also Sl. 163—"इत्युक्त्वानन्दिता देवी कण्ठे लग्ना शिवस्य तु ।"

The meaning of भैरव, specially applied to शिव, is explained in Sl. 130. It is explained with special reference to two important factors in the nature of शिव, *viz.*, (1) सर्व्वामर्शन—a kind of 'inner discourse' of all objects, and (2) सर्व्वव्यापकत्व—all-pervasiveness.

[55] *Cf.* विज्ञानभैरव, Sls. 2-4, 14-21.

[56] *Ibid*, Sl. 20 :—

शक्त्यवस्थाप्रविष्टस्य निर्विभागेन भावना ।
तदासौ शिवरूपी स्यात् शैवीमुखमिहोच्यते ॥

क्षेमराज explains "मुखम्" as 'प्रवेशोपायद्वारम् ।'

[57] *Ibid*, Sls. 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 58, 89, 108, 120, 122, 127, 134.

"प्रणवादिसमुच्चारात् प्लुतान्ते शून्यभावनात् ।
शून्यया परया शक्त्या शून्यतामेति भैरवि ॥"

This शून्य is, again, conceived of as a "Great Sky" (परव्योम or महाकाश) which is devoid of any particular shape (अनाकृति) ।

[58] *Cf.* विज्ञानभैरव, Sl. 69;

also "पृष्ठशून्यं मूलशून्यं युगपद्भावयेच्च यः ।
शरीरनिरपेक्षिण्या शक्त्या शून्यमना भवेत् ॥"

That this शून्य refers to a substratum of undetermined consciousness (निर्विकल्पक or निराश्रया चित्) can be seen from Sl. 45 :—

“ पृष्ठशून्यं मूलशून्यं हृच्छून्यं भावयेत् स्थिरम् ।
युगपन्निर्विकल्पत्वात् निर्विकल्पोदयस्ततः ॥”

also “ व्योमाकारं स्वमात्मानं ध्यायेद् दिग्भिरनावृतम् ।
निराश्रया चितिः शक्तिः स्वरूपं दर्शयेत्तदा ॥”

According to विज्ञानभैरव this void is attained by a process of merging the मनः which is at the root of all modifications as it continually oscillates from the one extreme (कोटि) to the other of doubt (संशय). *Cf.* Sls. 60, 83, 108.

This शून्य, it is highly interesting to note, has been carefully distinguished from that of the माध्यमिक (nihilistic) Buddhists by such terms as अवेद्य, अग्राह्य, अभावग (*cf.* 127). क्षेमराज explains this शून्य as that alone where the cognisable objects (वेद्यs) are not cognised—“ यदेव वेद्यस्य अग्रहणं तदेव शून्यत्वम् ।”

What क्षेमराज wants to say on the positive character of this शून्य as against the nihilist is that it is consciousness beyond the region of discursive thought expressing the relativity of ज्ञाता, ज्ञेय and ज्ञान. It is called शून्य because it is devoid of all ‘ आलम्बनधर्मs,’ all the relative तत्त्वs, and क्लेशs. Quoting from विमर्शदीपिका, an earlier work, he identifies this ‘void’ with स्वातन्त्र्य meaning consciousness. As every negation implies some kind of determination and so refers to a positive reality at the back ground, this शून्य as consciousness is at the root of all आलम्बनप्रत्ययs. Quoting from चन्द्रज्ञान an earlier Āgamik work, he attempts to show that activities proceed from this void as शक्ति. According to this work all the letters constituting speech-activity proceed from शक्ति which, again, starts from शून्य. These वर्णs constitute ‘ मन्त्रs ’ and from ‘ मन्त्रs ’ comes the whole scheme of creation.

अभिनव in his तन्त्रालोक takes this शून्य conception to mean संविद् (pure consciousness) when it separates itself from

the entire world of cognisables and reflects on itself as 'I am beyond the world.' Then according to him संविद् appears in reality as nothing but a shining pure and simple like the serene cloudless sky above. *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, 6.9.

Criticising the माध्यमिक view-point of शून्य as 'absolute negation' जयरथ says: The माध्यमिकs hold the absolute negation of all existences. Consequently, they maintain that even संविद् or consciousness—as the datum of all cognitions—has no real self-determining character (निःस्वभाव) and is, therefore, unreal (मिथ्या, not real in the ultimate sense). This position is not tenable. If संविद् becomes मिथ्या and, as such, has no independent character there will be no existence of any kind at all.

Even in the case of blue, etc., when they lose their own individual character because of unreality they still find a 'locus' in this संविद् (though undifferentiated). But if this संविद् is said to be non-existent nothing will appear and no existence could be predicated of anything. Thus the entire structure of human knowledge will totally collapse. For further reference to शून्य, *cf.* योगराज on परमार्थसार, Sl. 32. The main results of the discussion may be summarised in the following terms:—

1. शून्य is संविद् or चित्-शक्तिः—not in actual operation as yet but in suspended animation—something like the स्पन्द of the स्पन्दकारिकाs. It is thus an absolutely positive thing.
2. It is nothing but perfect स्वातन्त्र्य running even through such negative forms of knowledge as 'sky-flower, son of a barren woman etc.'
3. This void is absolutely devoid of all mental modifications, undetermined by relational forms of thought activity and is, therefore, like the cloudless sky above.

As regards the conception of शून्य as the "Great आकाश"

(the space-giving element) it is interesting to observe that this conception also plays a prominent part even in the thoroughgoing school of अद्वैत, first expounded by गौड़पाद in the earlier part of the 8th century before वसुगुप्त promulgated the शिवसूत्रs. Even earlier than गौड़पाद in several of the Upanishads we find that the आत्मन् is compared to आकाश on account of its pervasiveness (व्यापकत्व), invisibility (अदृश्यत्व) and giving support (सर्वाधारकत्व). Thus गौड़पाद in the अद्वैतप्रकरण of his माण्डूक्य कारिका explains the llusory nature of the relation between आत्मन् and जीवात्मन् by the example of आकाश and its modifications in घटाकाश, पटाकाश, etc. *Cf.* कारिकाs 3-9, 11-12, अद्वैतप्रकरण; also कारिकाs 1, 91, अलातशान्तिप्रकरण।

Thus it might be quite possible that the first conception of शून्य arose in the Aupanishadic hint at the स्वरूप of ब्रह्मन् by a process of continual negation (निषेधमुखेन) of phenomenal appearances in Him such as 'अथात आदेशो नेति नेति,' 'अस्थूलमनणु अह्रस्वम्,' etc. Then this 'नेति-मार्ग' (path of negation) was taken up by the अद्वैत school of गौड़पाद and शङ्कर as a convenient mode of establishing the मिथ्यात्व of the phenomenal world. (*Cf.* अद्वैतप्रकरण, Sl. 26; also अलातशान्ति, Sls. 83-84).

Almost at the same time (might be earlier) the Nihilistic Buddhists took up this conception of 'negative description' and developed it in their own way. The Trika writers, possibly a little later than गौड़पाद, took up this शून्य or void and instead of employing it merely as an analogical example carried it a step beyond and connected it with स्वातन्त्र्य शक्ति, the real nature of शिव, forming the central part of their doctrine.

[59] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, 1. 17-18 :—

न तदस्तीह यन्न श्रीमालिनीविजयोत्तरे।
देवदेवेन निर्दिष्टं स्वशब्देनाथ लिङ्गतः॥
दशाष्टादशवस्वष्टभिन्नं यच्छासनं विभोः।
तत्सारं विकशास्त्रं हि तत्सारं मालिनीमतम्॥

[60] *Ibid*, Jayaratha's Commentary :—

मलिन्या विजयेन सर्व्वोत्कर्षेण उत्तरति सर्व्वस्रोतोभ्यः प्रवते सर्व्वभूतत्वात् सर्व्वशास्त्राणां ··· तच्च सिद्धनामक-मलिन्याख्यखण्डत्रयात्मकत्वात् त्रिभेदम्। तत्र क्रियाप्रधानं सिद्धतन्त्रम्, ज्ञानप्रधानं नामकं तन्त्रं, तदुभयमयं मालिनीमतम् इति, तदेव मुख्यं, यदाह 'तत्सारं मालिनीमत'मिति।

[61] Īśv. Pr. Kā., 1. 5. 13 :—

चितिः प्रत्यवमर्शात्मा परावाक् स्वरसोदिता
स्वातन्त्र्यमेतन् मुख्यं तदैश्वर्यं परमात्मनः।

[62] *Ibid*, 1. 4. 1, 2, 8.

Also 1. 5. 10. Utpala defines विमर्श as "अवभासस्य स्वभावम्" 1. 5. 11.

[63] *Ibid*, 1. 5. 12, 13, 17.

[64] प्रत्यवमर्श is explained by अभिनव as a sort of 'internal discourse.' The idea that led to this meaning is that these Trika writers like many other writers of other systems of Indian Philosophy maintained the theory of 'an inseparable relation between thought and language.' Whenever there is thinking going on, an 'internal speech' not yet materialised in concrete वर्णs or अक्षरs, they believed, is also going on in suppressed form within the mind. The best exponent of this theory of 'eternity of speech' was भर्तृहरि, the famous author of वाक्यपदीय, a highly interesting and learned work on the philosophical aspect of Sanskrit grammar. He maintained that no idea or thought (प्रत्यय) is possible unless there is a sort of 'mental reconstruction or reconsideration' (प्रत्यवमर्श—inner discourse). This 'discourse' is the essence of शब्द and must, therefore, be presupposed in every form of ज्ञान or प्रत्यय. According to him every शब्द is an expression of "Existence"

(सत्ता). His position may be judged from the following कारिकाs:—

"न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते
अनुविद्धम् इव ज्ञानं सर्व्वं शब्देन गम्यते ।
वाग्रूपता चेदुत्क्रामेदवबोधस्य शाश्वती
न प्रकाशः प्रकाशेत सा हि प्रत्यवमर्शिनी ॥"

अभिनव uses the term शब्दन in a special sense. In commenting on प्रत्यभिज्ञा, 1. 2. 1, 2 he further elucidates the meaning of this word as 'that which has the nature of संजल्प' or a kind of "inner recognition of the essential identity of शब्द (speech) with its corresponding object (अर्थ) in such a unified form of close-proximity (अभिसम्बन्ध) as 'this is this' सोऽयम्." This inner recognition of unity meant by शब्दन does not form a part of the cognised object (विषयपक्षे न वर्त्तते) but is rather connected with the "All-illuminating Intelligence" (प्रकाश). This शब्दन may assume various forms such as 'This is,' 'That is,' 'That is this,' 'This will be,' etc.

अभिनव apprehended that these terms 'वाक्' and 'शब्द' might very easily mislead a person to think that they refer to ordinary words capable of being externally grasped by the auditory sense-organ. So he again explains it in commenting on प्रत्यभिज्ञा 1.6.1 as 'something quite different from ordinary words which can be heard.' "This वाक्," says he, "appears to be internally merged in consciousness (संविद्रूपावेशि). *Cf.* "वक्ति अर्थं सोऽयम् इत्यभिसम्बन्धेन ।"

[65] संकेत, according to Nyāya Philosophy, means 'th convention' made by will that such and such a meanir should be understood from such and such a word. refers to शक्ति or the signifying power of words defined 'the relation of a word and an object that always serv to revive the memory of that object (whenever the wo is spoken).'

Cf. तर्कदीपिका—"डित्थादीनामिव घटादीनामपि संकेत एव शक्तिः।"

[66] *Cf.* Īśv. Pr., V. 1. 5. 13 :—

"अत एव सा स्वरसेन चिद्रूपतया स्वात्मविश्रान्तिवपुषा उदिता सततमनस्तमिता नित्या अहमित्येव।"

[67] *Cf.* कामकलाविलास, Sl. No. 1 and its Commentary :—

"विमर्शो नाम विश्वाकारेण विश्वप्रकाशेन विश्वसंहारेण वा अकृत्रिमाहमिति विश्वस्फुरणम्, तस्य अन्तर्लीनत्वं नाम अन्तर्मुखत्वम्।" also comment on Sl. 4 "विमर्शो नाम अनवधिरेका विस्फुरणशक्तिः।"

[68] *Cf.* Īśv. Pr., V. 1. 5. 8 :—

"तस्मात् सर्व्वोऽयं भावराशिः चिदात्मनि अहमित्येव वपुषा सतताव-भास्वरूपः ऐश्वर्य्यरूपाच्च स्वातन्त्र्यलक्षणात् स्वामिभावात् विचित्रेण वपुषा क्रमादिना संविदेनं बहिष्करोति प्रमातृभेदप्रथनपूर्व्वकम्। तत्रापि क्वचिदाभासे ऐक्यं शरीर-प्राणबुद्धिसुखाद्याभासांशेषु तु भेदस्य अविगलनात् सर्व्वथा ऐक्यम्। अतएव प्रतिक्षणं प्रमातृसंयोजनवियोजनवैचित्र्येण परमेश्वरो सृष्टिसंहारादिना विश्वं प्रपञ्चयति।"

[69] *Cf.* Īśv. Pr., V. 1. 1. 2 :—

"स चायं स्वतन्त्रः। स्वातन्त्र्यं चास्य अभेदे भेदनं भेदिते च अन्तरनुसन्धानेन अभेदनमिति बहुप्रकारं वक्ष्यामः।"

Cf. also "एतदेव परमात्मनो मुख्यं स्वातन्त्र्यमैश्वर्य्यम्," etc., विमर्शिनी 1.5.13.

[70] *Ibid*, 1. 5. 13.

[71] *Ibid*, 1. 5. 14 : "यत् किल येन तुल्यकक्षतया भाति तत् तस्य विशेषणं कटक इव चैत्रस्य। न च देशकालौ तुल्यकक्षौ भवतः—तयोः इदन्तया तस्य च अहन्तया प्रकाशे तुल्यकक्षत्वानुपपत्तेः। एवं देशकालास्पर्शात् विभुत्वं नित्यत्वम् च।" etc.

[72] *Ibid*, 2. 3. 10 :—

"एवं विमर्शबलादेव भेदाभेदव्यवस्था, तदेव हि परमेश्वरस्य संवेदनात्मनः शिवनाथस्य स्वातन्त्र्यशक्तिविजृम्भितम्।"

[73] *Cf.* Jayaratha's Commentary on तन्त्रालोक, 5-8 ; also 1. 134, 135. *Cf.* also स्पन्दकारिका, 14 ; also Īśv. Pr., V. 1. 4. 3, 8.

[74] *Cf.* शिवोपाध्याय's Commentary on विज्ञानभैरव, Sl. 137 :—

"प्रकाशमानं न पृथक प्रकाशात्
स च प्रकाशो न पृथग् विमर्शात् ।
नान्यो विमर्शोऽहमिति स्वरूपात्
अहं विमर्शोऽस्मि चिदेकरूपः ॥"

Cf. Īśv. Pr., V. 1. 5. 20 :—

"तस्मात् सर्व्व एव विमर्शः प्रकाशात् अविच्छिन्न एव ।"

[75] *Cf.* Jayaratha's तन्त्रालोक, *e.g.*, in Sls. 65-66 :—

"स्वातन्त्र्य हि विमर्श इत्युच्यते, स चास्य मुख्यः स्वभावः, न हि निर्विमर्शः प्रकाशः सम्भवति उपपद्यते वा, etc."

[76] According to Trika interpretation क्रियाशक्ति is resolved into the ultimate form of स्वातन्त्र्य or विमर्श. The whole world is nothing but the 'expansion' or 'shining out' of क्रियाशक्ति. *Cf.* शिवसूत्र, 3. 31. "स्वशक्तिप्रचयोऽस्य विश्वम् ।"

Cf. also विमर्शिनी of क्षेमराज on it : "तथा अस्यापि स्वस्याः संविदात्मनः शक्तेः, प्रचयः क्रिया-शक्तिस्फुरणरूपो विकाशो विश्वम् ।"

The universe is a kind of perpetual stage on which numerous शक्तिs are incessantly attracting and repelling one another. (*Cf.* the expression अनन्तशक्तिचक्रगर्भित.)

[77] *Cf.* मालिनीविजयोत्तर, III. 5-10.

"सैकापि सत्यनेकत्वं यथा गच्छति तच्छृणु ।
एवमेतदिति ज्ञेयं नान्यथेति सुनिश्चितम् ॥
ज्ञापयन्ती जगत्यत्र ज्ञानशक्तिर्निगद्यते ।
एवं भूतमिदं वस्तु भवत्विति यदा पुनः ॥

जाता सदैव तत्तद्वत् कुर्व्वत्यत्र क्रियोच्यते
एवं सैषा द्विरूपापि पुनर्भेदैरनेकताम् ॥
अर्थोपाधिवशाद् याति चिन्तामणिरिवेश्वरि ।"

[78] *Cf.* स्पन्द, VIV. 1. 1:—

"इत्थमेकस्या एव पारमेश्वर्य्याः शक्तेः इच्छाज्ञान-क्रियाव्यपदेश इदन्तोन्मिषन्-मायाशक्तिजनित एव, यतः शिवदशामेकां मुक्त्वा मायाशक्तिः सर्व्वत्र कृतपदा, यद्वशा-देकस्मिन् शिवतत्त्वे परमार्थसति सदाशिवादितत्त्वान्तरव्यपदेशः प्रक्रियाशास्त्रेषु ।"

[79] *Cf.* तन्त्रसार, प्रथमः आह्निकः, p. 6, Śrīnagar edition:—

"स्वतन्त्र एकः प्रकाशः स्वातन्त्र्यादेव च देशकालाकारावच्छेदविरहात् व्यापको नित्यः सर्व्वाकारनिराकारस्वभावः, तस्य च स्वातन्त्र्यमानन्दशक्तिः, तच्चमत्कार इच्छाशक्तिः, प्रकाशरूपता चिच्छक्तिः, आमर्शात्मकता ज्ञानशक्तिः, सर्व्वाकारयोगित्वं क्रियाशक्तिः इत्येवं मुख्याभिः शक्तिभिर्युक्तोऽपि वस्तुत इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तियुक्तः अनवच्छिन्नप्रकाशो निजानन्दविश्रान्तः शिवरूपः सः, etc."

[80] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोकः, अष्टमः आह्निकः, p. 73:—

"तत्र परमेश्वरः पञ्चभिः शक्तिभिः निर्भर इत्युक्तं, स च स्वातन्त्र्यात् शक्तिं तां तां मुख्यतया प्रकटयन् पञ्चधा तिष्ठति। चित्प्राधान्ये शिवतत्त्वम्, आनन्दप्राधान्ये शक्तितत्त्वम्, इच्छाप्राधान्ये सदाशिवतत्त्वम् ··· ज्ञानशक्तिप्राधान्ये ईश्वरतत्त्वं. क्रियाप्राधान्ये विद्यातत्त्वम् ।"

[81] *Cf.* Commentary of योगराज on परमार्थसार,—

"शिवशक्ति-सदाशिवतामीश्वरविद्यामयीं च तत्त्वदशां। शक्तीनां पञ्चानां विभक्त-भावेन भासयति ॥"

"तथा हि—सर्व्वप्रमातॄणामन्तः पूर्णाहन्ताचमत्कारमयं सर्व्वतत्त्वोत्तीर्णं महाप्रकाश वपुर्यत् चैतन्यमेतदेव शिवत्वम् । तस्यैव भगवतः चिद्रूपस्य आनन्दरूपा "विश्वं भवामि" इति परामृशतो विश्वभावस्वभावमयी संविदेव किञ्चिद् उच्छूनतारूपा सर्व्वभावानां वीजभूमिः, इयं शक्त्यवस्था ।

[82] *Ibid*, "पुनरपि अत्रैव विश्वसमुत्पत्तिवीजभूमौ महाशून्यातिशून्याख्यायां, महेशस्य 'अहमिदम्' इति अभेदेन पूर्णाहन्तामयो यः चमत्कारो ज्ञानप्राधान्यात् क्रिया-भागस्य अहंताविश्रान्तेः सेयं सदाशिवदशा ।"

[83] तथा अत्रैव 'अहमिदम्' इति अभेदेन अहंतेदन्तयोः समधृततुलापुटन्यायेन यः स्वात्मचमत्कारः, सैषा तस्य ईश्वरावस्था। अत्रापि इदन्ताप्राधान्येन अहन्तागुणीकारेण यः "अहमहम्,—इदमिदम्" इत्येवंरूपः चमत्कारः सद्योजातबालस्येव शिरोऽङ्गुलिनिर्द्देश्य एतदेव बोधसारत्वात् भगवतः शुद्धविद्यातत्त्वम्।

Cf. Īśv. Pr., V. 1. 8. 11.

"परापरावस्थायां तु भगवत्सदाशिवभुवि इदन्तासमानाधिकरण्यापन्नाहन्ताविमर्श-स्वभावे, etc."

[84] *Cf.* Commentary on परमार्थसार:—

"अत्रापि इदन्ताप्राधान्येन अहन्तागुणीकारेण यः 'अहमहम् इदमिदम्' इत्येवंरूपः चमत्कारः सद्योजातबालस्य इव शिरोऽङ्गुलिनिर्द्देश्यः, etc."

[85] *Cf.* चमत्कृति may be expressed in terms of human experience as 'deepening wonderment.' It is derivately explained as 'self-enjoyment.'

Cf. "'चमतो भुञ्जानस्य करणं संरम्भः 'अहमसौ नीलादेर्भोक्ता' इति चमत्कारः।"

[86] *Cf.* कामकलाविलास of पुण्यानन्द, Sl. 13 and its commentary:—

"अत्र शिवशब्देन ज्ञानशक्तिरभिधीयते ... ... चिदानन्दरूपिण्यः सर्व्वत्र ज्ञान-क्रियाभ्यामेव निर्म्माणौचित्यदर्शनात्।"

[87] *Cf.* पुण्यानन्द is supposed to have flourished later than अभिनव, *i.e.*, after the 11th century A.D., because he is never quoted or mentioned in any connection by writers earlier than अभिनव. He is not even mentioned by such later writers as जयरथ, योगराज, भट्टभास्कर and others. We find quotations from him in the ललितासहस्रनामभाष्य by the 18th century Maharastra Brahmin भास्करराय. From this it seems probable that he flourished much later than अभिनव—possibly in the 17th or the early part of the 18th century.

[88] *Cf.* मालिनीविजय, VIII. 66:—

"वामा ज्येष्ठा च रौद्री च सर्व्वाः कालानलप्रभाः।
ब्रह्मविष्णुहराः पूर्व्वं ये शक्ताः प्रतिपादिताः॥"

[89] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, IV. 21 :—

"वामा संसारवमनात् इत्याद्युक्त्या संसाराविर्भाविका तिरोधानशक्तिरित्यर्थः।" *Cf.* also "यतस्तावती सा तस्य वामाख्या शक्तिरैश्वरी।"

[90] *Cf.* for the description of भुवनाध्वा and the 14 kinds of भूतग्राम beginning with स्थावर and ending in ब्रह्म, मालिनीविजय, V. 2-6.

[91] *Cf. ibid*, V. 32 :—

"रौद्री ज्येष्ठा च वामा च तथा शक्तिसदाशिवौ।
एतानि सकले पञ्च भुवनानि विदुर्बुधाः॥"

also Sl. 63 :—

"वामा ज्येष्ठा च रौद्री च काली चेति तथापरा।
कलविकरणी चैव बलविकरणी तथा॥"

also VIII. 66 :—

[92] *Cf.* स्वच्छन्दतन्त्र, II. 68-70 :—

अस्य दलेषु देवतान्यासमाह—

"वामां पूर्व्वदले न्यस्य ज्येष्ठां वह्निदलाश्रिताम्।
रौद्रीं दक्षिणपत्रे तु कालीं नैऋतगोचरे॥
कलविकरणीं देवीं विन्यसेद् वारुणे दले
बलविकरणीं देवीं वायव्यदलमाश्रिताम्।
सर्व्वभूतदमनीं च ऐशान्यां विनियोजयेत्।
बलप्रमथनीं देवीमुत्तरे विनियोजयेत्॥
मध्ये मनोन्मनीं देवीं कर्णिकायां निवेशयेत्॥"

[93] *Cf.* शिवसूत्र, I. 3 :—"योनिवर्गः कलाशरीरम्।"
Ibid, II. 7 :—"मातृकाचक्रसम्बोधः।"

[94] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, Sls. 52, 56 :—

"प्रभोः शिवस्य या शक्तिर्वामा ज्येष्ठा च रौद्रीका
सा तदन्यतमाभावात्मप्राणी यत्नविधायिनी।

वामा संसारिणामीशा प्रभुशक्तिर्विधायिनी
ज्येष्ठा तु सुप्रबुद्धानां बुभुत्सूनां च रौद्रीका ॥ ”

also विवेक of जयरथ on the above.

“ वामा संसारवमनाद् ज्येष्ठा शिवमयी यतः ।
द्रावयित्री रुजां रौद्री रोद्‌ध्री चाखिलकर्म्मणाम् ॥ ”

[95] *Cf.* तन्त्र, IV. 35 :—

“ सः रुद्रशक्तिसमाविष्टः, स्वस्वरूपं प्राप्तुमिच्छोः ज्येष्ठाख्यशक्तिरूपया सद्गुरुं प्रति नीयते । ”

[96] *Cf.* शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिक, I. 3 :—

“ योनयः शक्तयो ज्ञेयास्ततः सर्व्वकारणम् ।
अम्बाज्येष्ठाभिधा रौद्री वामा च शिवमूर्त्तयः ॥
तासां वर्गः समूहः स्यात् तच्छरीरं कलासु च ।
अकारादिक्षकारान्ताः कलास्ताः शब्दकारणम् ॥ ”

[97] *Cf. ibid*, I. 2, 3 :—

“ अहं ममेदमिति यज्ज्ञानं भेदप्रथात्मकम् ।
शब्दानुवेधतो जातं मायीयमलमूलकम् ॥
तद्बन्धनं समाख्यातमविद्यावृत्तिलक्षणम् ।
एताः शब्दानुवेधेन प्रत्ययोद्भासिका पशोः ॥
तेनासौ भोग्यतां याति तासां स्वविभवं यतः ।
तस्य लुप्तं तदुत्थेन ज्ञानाभासेन सर्व्वदा ॥ ”

[98] *Ibid*, XI. 7 :—

“ स्वाभासा मातृका ज्ञेया क्रियाशक्तिः प्रभोः परा ।
तस्याः कलासमूहो यस्तच्चक्रमिति कीर्त्तितम् ।
मन्त्रादिशक्तिजातस्य मूलमेकं ततः स्मृता ।
मातृकैव क्रियाशक्तिः शिवस्येत्थं विजृम्भते ॥ ”

[99] मालिनी, III. 14 :—

“ माहेशी ब्राह्मणी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।
ऐन्द्री याम्या च चामुण्डा योगीशी चेति ता मताः ॥”

[100] *Ibid*, III. 26 :—

" सर्व्वशास्त्रार्थगर्भिण्या इत्येवंविधयानया ।

अघोरं बोधयामास स्वेच्छया परमेश्वरः ॥ "

[101] *Ibid*, VIII. 93-98.

[102] *Cf.* विज्ञानभैरव, Sl. 1, 2 :—

" श्रुतं मया देव सर्व्वं यामलादिषु भाषितम् ।

अद्यापि न निवृत्तो मे संशयः परमेश्वर ॥

also, देव-देव ... ... रुद्रयामलतन्त्रस्य सारमद्यावधारितम् । "

[103] स्वच्छन्द—प्रथमपटल :—

" अवर्गे तु महालक्ष्मीः कवर्गे कमलोद्भवा ।

च-वर्गे तु महेशानी तवर्गे तु कुमारिका ॥

नारायणी तवर्गे तु वाराही तु पवर्गिका ।

ऐन्द्री चैव यवर्गस्था चामुण्डा तु सवर्गिका ॥

एताः सप्त महामातॄः सप्तलोकव्यवस्थिताः । "

Cf. also क्षेमराज :—

" मातॄः ... ... इति सप्तभैरव्यः मरीचिरूपाः । "

[104] मालिनीविजयोत्तर—III. 30-33 :—

" अनन्तस्यापि भेदस्य शिवशक्तेर्महात्मनः ।

कार्य्यभेदान् महादेवि वैविध्यं समुदाहृतम् ॥

विषयेष्वेव संलीनानधोऽधः पातयन्त्यणून् ।

रुद्राणून्याः समालिङ्ग्य घोरतर्य्योऽपराः स्मृताः ॥

मिश्रकर्म्मफलासक्तिं पूर्व्ववज्जनयन्ति याः ।

मुक्तिमार्ग-निरोधिन्यस्ताः स्युर्घोराः परापराः ॥

पूर्व्ववज्जन्तुजातस्य शिवधामफलप्रदाः ।

पराः प्रकथितास्तज्ज्ञैरघोराः शिवशक्तयः ॥"

[105] *Ibid*, VIII. 72-74 :—

" ततो मध्ये परां शक्तिं दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्द्वयम् ।

परापरां स्वरूपेण रक्तवर्णां महाबलाम् ॥

इच्छारूपधरां ध्यात्वा किंचिदुग्रां न भीषणाम् ।
अपरां वामशृङ्गे तु भीषणां कृष्णपिङ्गलाम् ॥
इच्छारूपधरां देवीं प्रणतार्त्तिविनाशिनीम् ।
परां चाप्यायनीं देवीं चन्द्रकोट्ययुतप्रभाम् ॥ ”

[106] For the interconnection between ज्ञान and क्रिया and between इच्छा and क्रिया. *Cf.* Abhinava's remark:—ईश्वर-प्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी, 1. 1. 2: "ज्ञानपल्लवस्वभावैव हि क्रिया इति वक्ष्यते ।" Also *Ibid*, 1. 1. 1: "इच्छाशक्तिश्च उत्तरोत्तरम् उच्छूनस्वभावतया क्रियाशक्तिपर्य्यन्ती-भवति इति दर्शयिष्यामः ।"

[107] It must of course be admitted that both Utpala and Abhinava trace these three शक्तिs of इच्छा, ज्ञान and क्रिया from the most authoritative work "शिवदृष्टि" by सोमानन्द, the preceptor of Utpala; *cf.* "तदिच्छा तावती तावज्ज्ञानं तावत् क्रिया हि सा···एवं न जातुचित् तस्य वियोगस्त्रितयात्मना ।" For Utpala's view *cf.* Īśv. Pr. 1. 1. 4-5, 1. 5. 7-10, 1. 6. 7-11, 1. 8. 9-11.

[108] Īśv. Pr. V. 1. V. 1:—

"ततो मायाप्रमातुः विच्छिन्नाना'मवभासनम्' तत् परमार्थप्रमातरि शुद्धचिन्मये 'अन्तःस्थितवतां' तेन सह ऐकात्म्यम् अनुज्झितवतामेव 'घटते' प्रमाणेन उपपद्यते, तेन अनुज्झितसंविदभेदस्य भावस्य कल्पितप्रमात्रपेक्षयाभेदेन प्रकाशनं भगवतो ज्ञान-शक्तिरित्युक्तं भवति ॥"

[109] Īśv. Pr. V. 1. 111. 7:—

"'संवित् तावत् प्रकाशते' इति तावत् न केचित् अपह्नुवते । सा तु संवित् यदि स्वात्ममात्रविश्रान्ता अर्थस्य सा कथं प्रकाशः ? स हि अर्थ-धर्म्म एव तथा स्यात् ; ततश्च अर्थप्रकाशः तावत्येव पर्य्यवसितः,—इति गलितो ग्राह्यग्राहकभावः । अतोऽर्थ-प्रकाशरूपां संविदम् इच्छता बलादेव अर्थोऽपि तद्रूपान्तर्गत एव अङ्गीकर्त्तव्यः ; स च अर्थप्रकाशो यदि अन्यश्च अन्यश्च, तत् न स्मरणम् उपपन्नम्,—इति अत एव असौ,—इति एकत्वात् सर्व्वो वेद्यराशिः तेन क्रोडीकृतः,—इत्येतदपि अनिच्छता अङ्गीकार्य्यम् । एवमपि सततमेव उन्मग्नेन निमग्नेन वा विश्वात्मना प्रकाशेत, तथा स्वभावत्वात् । न चैवम्, अतः स्वरूपान्तर्ब्रुडितम् अर्थराशिम् अपरमपि भिन्नाकारम् आत्मनि परिगृह्य, कंचिदेव अर्थं स्वरूपात् उन्मग्नम् आभासयति,—इति आपतितम् । सैषा ज्ञानशक्तिः ।"

[110] *Ibid*, 1. 1. 5:—

“अहं जानामि, मया ज्ञातं ज्ञास्यते च—इत्येवं प्रकाशाहंपरामर्शपरिनिष्ठितमेव इदं ज्ञानं नाम, किं तत्र अन्यत् विचार्य्यते, तदप्रकाशे हि विश्वमन्धतमसं स्यात्, तदपि न स्यात्, etc.”

[111] *Ibid*, 1. 3. 7:—

“एतासां च ज्ञानादिशक्तीनाम् असंख्यप्रकारो वैचित्र्यविकल्पः,—इति तत्सामर्थ्यं स्वातन्त्र्यम्, अपराधीनं पूर्व्वं महदैश्वर्य्यम्, etc.” also 1.5.17. and 1.6.11.

[112] This “अन्तः-संरम्भः” or ‘creative cogitation’ embedded in cognition may be explained as a ‘creative Thought-force continually in operation, which is giving shape and form not only to the body but largely to the world in which we live.’ *Cf.* Edward Carpenter's Art of Creation, Ch. II, pages 24-25.

[113] Īśv. Pr. V. 1. 1. 5:—

“तत्र जानामि—इत्यन्तःसंरम्भयोगोऽपि भाति, येन शुक्लादेर्गुणात् अत्यन्तजड़ात् जानामि—इति वपुः चित्स्वभावताम् अभ्येति ; स च संरम्भो विमर्शः क्रियाशक्तिरुच्यते। यदुक्तम् अस्मत्परमेष्ठिश्रीसोमानन्दपादैः ‘घटादिग्रहकालेऽपि घटं जानाति सा क्रिया’ इति। तेन आन्तरीयक्रियाशक्तिः ज्ञानवदेव स्वतः सिद्धा स्वप्रकाशा, सैव तु स्वशक्त्या प्राणपुर्य्यष्टकक्रमेण शरीरमपि संचरमाणा स्पन्दनरूपा सती व्यापारव्याहारात्मिका मायापदेऽपि प्रमाणस्य प्रत्यक्षादेर्विषयः। सा च परशरीरादिसाहित्येन अवगता स्वं स्वभावं ज्ञानात्मकं गमयति, न च ज्ञानमिदम्, etc.”

[114] *Cf.* स्पन्दकारिकाविवृति of रामकण्ठ, IV. 16:—

“यतः परमेश्वरस्य परमार्थतः एकत्वेऽपि अत्यद्भुतस्वैश्वर्य्यवीर्य्येण विशुद्धचिन्मात्ररूपतया विश्वात्मकत्वेन च अन्तर्बहीरूपं द्वैविध्यं यदवस्थितं, तत्र विश्वात्मकस्य बाह्यस्य रूपस्य ज्ञेयकार्य्यभावेन लब्धस्वरूपत्वात् एकापि तच्छक्तिः ज्ञानक्रियारूपतया द्वित्वेन उपचर्य्यते।”

[115] *Ibid*, 1. 11:—

“वस्तुत एकैव ईश्वरस्य स्वभावप्रत्यवमर्शरूपा शक्तिः ; सा संवेदनरूपत्वात् ज्ञानशब्देन च उद्घोष्यते।”

[116] Īśv. Pr. V. 1. VIII. 1:—

“यद्यपि च प्रकाशविमर्शात्मकं चिदेकघनम् एकमेव संविद्रूपम्, तथापि

व्युत्पादनाय तत्परिघटित एव अयं विभागः, तेन ज्ञानात्मकक्रियाविषयं स्वातन्त्र्यं यद्यपि क्रियाशक्तिरूपम् तथापि ज्ञानाधिकार एव निर्णेतव्यं—तद्विषयत्वात्। एवं च ज्ञातृशब्दार्थः प्रकृतितः प्रत्ययतश्च संपूर्णतया निर्णीतो भवति। तत्र ज्ञानं नाम स्वयं भेदिताभासभेदोपाश्रयनियन्त्रणासंकुचितम् 'अहमिति' संवेदनम्।"

That there is some sort of 'inner responsive activity' in cognition is also admitted by some of the Western Psychologists—"All consciousness is motor, says William James, and no sooner does the new emotion come within the border of consciousness than it sets the springs of action in motion which inevitably flow down to creation and the outer world."

[117] स्पन्दकारिकाविवृति, IV. 18:—

"'सा शिवस्य' स्वस्वभावस्यैव परमेश्वरस्य 'क्रियात्मिका' तत्स्वरूपप्रत्यवमर्शलक्षण-व्यापारशरीरा 'शक्तिः' अव्यभिचारी धर्म्मः समर्थतारूपः 'इयं' प्रतिपादितप्रसररूपा शक्तिः यैव अद्वयचिन्मात्रस्वभावप्रत्यवमर्शिनी परा शक्तिः परमेश्वरस्य सैव इयम् इत्थं प्रसृत्य अवभासते, तत्त्वतो नास्ति अस्याः ततो भेद इत्यर्थः।"

[118] Īśv. Pr. V. 11. 1. 2:—

"या तु प्रभोः संबन्धिनी तदव्यतिरिक्ता क्रियाशक्तिः शाश्वती कालेन अस्पृष्टा तस्याः सक्रमत्वमस्ति, इति—संभावनापि नास्ति, यथा प्रभोः सक्रमत्वमसंभाव्यं तथा तस्या अपि।"

Cf. also "लौकिक्याः क्रियायाः सक्रमत्वं कालशक्तिविशेषाद् घटते उपपद्यते।"

[119] *Ibid*, II. 4. 20:—

"तस्मात् वास्तवं चिदेकत्वमभ्युपगम्यापि तस्य कर्त्तृत्वलक्षणा भिन्नरूपसमावेशात्मिका क्रिया नोपपद्यते; परामर्शलक्षणं तु स्वातन्त्र्यं यदि भवति तदोपपद्यते सर्व्वम्। परामर्शो हि चिकीर्षारूपेच्छा, तस्यां च सर्व्वमन्तर्भूतं निर्मातव्यमभेदकल्पेनास्ते,—इत्युक्तम्, etc."

[120] This is one of the most valuable conclusions of the Kashmere school. It is at this point that we can draw a clear line of demarcation between the Kashmere and the निर्व्विशेष types of Advaita Philosophy. Utpala

constantly reminds us of this in his book. *Cf.* Īśv. Pr. I. III. 7, 1. V. 1, 7, 10, 1, VI. 7, 1. VIII. 7.

[121] *Cf. ante* No. 119.

[122] *Ibid*, 1. V. 16:—

"सर्व्वा शक्तिः कर्त्तृत्वशक्तिरैश्वर्य्यात्मा समाक्षिपति, सा च विमर्शरूपा इति युक्तमस्या एव प्राधान्यम्।"

[123] *Cf.* Panini Sūtra, 1. IV. 54: "स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता." Abhinava explains कर्त्तृत्व as the 'power of integrating and disintegrating the different संवेदनs (perceptions) according to the sweet will of the doer.' *Cf.* Īśv. Pr. V. 1. IV. 3:

"यस्य हि ··· अस्मद्दर्शने तु भिन्नकाला अपि संविदः ··· ··· एतदेव वेदनाधिकं वेदितृत्वं—वेदनेषु संयोजनवियोजनयोः यथारुचि करणं स्वातन्त्र्यम्, कर्त्तृत्वं च एतदेव उच्यते, etc."

[124] *Ibid*, 11. IV. 21:—

"इत्थं तथा घटपटाद्याभासजगदात्मना।
तिष्ठासोरेवमिच्छैव हेतुता कर्त्तृता क्रिया।"

[125] *Ibid*, 1. 11. 9:—

"इह परिस्पन्दरूपं तावत् गच्छति, चलति, पततीत्यादि यत् प्रतिभासगोचरः, तत्र गृहदेशगतदेवदत्तस्वरूपमित्येतावदुपलभ्यते, न तु तत्स्वरूपातिरिक्तं काञ्चिदन्यां क्रियां प्रतीमः। 'देवदत्तो दिनं तिष्ठति' इत्यत्र तु ··· इत्यादि भाति, 'दुग्धं परिणमते' इत्यत्र मधुरवस्तुरूपमम्लवस्तुरूपं द्रव्यरूपं कठिनरूपमित्यादि। एवं तद्देशतया तत्कालतया च भाव एव भाति ··· एवं प्रत्यक्षेण न दृश्यते क्वचित् क्रिया, etc."

[126] *Ibid*, 1. V. 14:—

"मदीयं स्फुरणं स्पन्दनमाविष्ट इति, प्रकाशस्वरूपं हि मनागपि नातिरिच्यते, इव इति अचलमेव आभासयुक्तमेव च भाति। ... ··· चलोऽपि विविधवैचित्र्ययोगेऽपि स्वरूपादचलन् जलो गम्भीरः स्पन्दवान् इति उच्यते।"

In this connection it is interesting to note also the definition of रामकण्ठ:—

"स्पन्दशब्दश्च, अयं स्वस्वभावपरामर्शमात्रस्य नित्यस्य शून्यताव्यतिरेचनकारणभूतस्य

तावन्मात्रसंरम्भात्मा नः ... ... धर्म्मस्य किञ्चिद् उच्छलनात् स्पन्द इति।"
स्पन्दकारिकाविवेक, 1. 2.

[127] Īśv. Pr. V. 1. V. 8:—

"तदस्ति सम्भवः—यत् संविदेव अभ्युपगतस्वातन्त्र्या अप्रतीघातलक्षणात् इच्छाविशेषवशात् संविदोऽनधिकात्मताया अनपायात् अन्तःस्थितमेव सद्भावजातमिदमित्येवं प्राणबुद्धिदेहादेः वितीर्णकियन्मात्रसंविद्रूपात् बाह्यत्वेन आभासयति इति, etc."

[128] *Ibid*, 2. 1. 8:—

"ननु एवं सत्ये प्रमातरि भगवति नास्त्येव क्रिया, इति आयातं—कालक्रमाभावात्, क्रमाश्रयेण च तस्या अवस्थानात्? इत्याशङ्क्याह—इह तत्त्वतः परमेश्वरस्य अप्रतिहतस्वातन्त्र्यरूपाविच्छिन्नस्वात्मविमर्शमयी अनन्योन्मुखतारूपा इच्छैव क्रिया, इति उपसंहरिष्यते अधिकारान्ते। एवमिच्छैव हेतुता कर्तृता क्रिया इति, चैत्रमैत्रादेरपि पचामि इति यैव अन्तरिच्छा सैव क्रिया, तथा च अधिश्रयणादिबहुतरस्पन्दनसंबन्धेऽपि पचामि इति नास्य विच्छिद्यते, यत्तु पचामीति इच्छारूपं तदेव तथा स्पन्दनात्मतया भाति, तत्र तु न कश्चित् क्रमः तत्त्वतः। एवम् ईश्वरस्यापि 'ईशे भासे स्फुरामि घूर्णे प्रत्यवमृशामि' इत्येवंरूपं यत् इच्छात्मकं विमर्शनम् 'अहम्' इत्येतावन्मात्रतत्त्वं न तत्र कश्चित् क्रमः, एतदेव च उच्यते—प्रमातृप्रमेयवैचित्र्यक्रम उल्लसतु अमुना वाक्येन, तदत्रापि न कश्चित् क्रमः, यदा तु इच्छारूपं 'पचामि' इति स्पन्दनात्मतां कायपर्य्यन्तां गतं क्रमारूषितम् आभाति तदा भगवदिच्छा प्रमातृप्रमेयभेदपर्य्यवसिता तत्क्रमोपश्लिष्टा भाति दर्पणतलमिव विततप्रवहन्नदीप्रवाहक्रमसमाश्लिष्टम्, etc."

[129] *Ibid*, "अत्र च केवलं दर्पणस्य तथा इच्छा नास्ति, परमेश्वरस्य तु सा अस्ति—इति उभयथा अस्य क्रियाशक्तिः 'क्रमरूपक्रियानिर्णयसामर्थ्यं क्रमरूपक्रियोपरागयोगश्च' इति। एवं देशक्रमेऽपि वाच्यम्, तत्र तु अस्य चिच्छक्तिः उच्यते अन्यैः, इह तु क्रियाशक्तिरेव सा स्वीकृता, इति—पिण्डार्थः।"

[130] *Ibid*, 11. 2. 6:—

"कारकाणां कर्त्रादिशक्त्याधाराणां द्रव्याणां च योऽन्योन्यं समन्वयो दृश्यते, यथा मातृमेयमानानां मिथः, सोऽन्तर्लीनप्रमात्मकक्रियाविशेषपरामर्शैकनिमित्तकः, नहि प्रमापरामर्शम् अन्तर्वर्त्तिनं विहाय वस्तुनः साक्षात् अन्वयोऽत्र संवेद्यते, अनन्यत्र भावरूपतानिमित्तता अत्र विषयार्थः, कारकशक्तीनामपि यः स्वाश्रयैः सम्बन्धः सोऽपि क्रियापरामर्शनिमित्तकः, द्रव्याणां च शक्तीनां च क्रियया साकं साक्षात् संबन्धः, इति

इयं क्रियैव भगवतो एतावद् विजृम्भितं सम्बन्धम् आविर्भावयति अस्मादिदं पूर्व्वं परं दूरे इत्येवं बहिर्भिन्नतया परामृश्यमानयोः भावयोरन्तरभेदपूर्व्वकं भेदावमर्शमध्यम् अभेदविश्रान्तं च यत् रूपमामृश्यते तत् 'दिग्' इत्युच्यते ··· सर्व्वथा अयं संक्षेपः, यत्र पदार्थाभासस्य आत्मविश्रान्त्या सन्तोषमपुष्यतः आभासान्तरपरामर्शविश्रान्तिसाकाङ्क्षतया स्वरूपनिष्ठा तत्र संबन्धरूपतैव क्रियाशक्तिविजृम्भामयी, तत्रापि भावान्तरापेक्षया सम्बन्धान्तरमपि अस्तु, यथा संख्यादौ समवायं मन्यन्ते, न च अनवस्था भवन्ती अपि दोषाय, पूर्व्वापरकल्पसृष्ट्यनवस्थेव, etc."

[131] *Ibid*, II. 3. 2:—

"अनुमानजा तु प्रतीतिः आभासान्तरात् कार्य्यरूपात् स्वभावभूताद् वा आभासान्तरे प्रतिपत्तिः, वस्त्वन्तरस्य च तेन साकं कार्य्यकारणभावनियमः सामानाधिकारण्यनियमश्च ईश्वरनियतिशक्त्युपजीवन एव अवधार्य्यो भवति न अन्यथा, तेन यावति नियतिर्ज्ञाता तावति देशे काले वा अनुमानं प्रमाणम्।"

[132] *Ibid*, 11. 3. 2:—

"आगमस्तु नामान्तरः शब्दनरूपो दृढीयस्तमविमर्शात्मा चित्स्वभावस्य ईश्वरस्य अन्तरङ्ग एव व्यापारः प्रत्यक्षादेरपि जीवितकल्पः, etc."

[133] *Ibid*, II. 3. 16:—

"विश्ववैचित्र्यचित्रं हि तत्र परमेश्वरे प्रकाशैकात्मनि सति भाति यथा चित्रं भित्तौ। यदि हि नीलपीतादिकं पृथगेव परामृश्यते तदा स्वात्मविश्रान्तेषु तेषु तथा वा अन्योऽन्यविषये जड़ान्धबधिरकल्पानि ज्ञानानि स्वविषयमात्रनिष्ठितानि, विकल्पाश्च तदनुसारिण भवन्तः तथैव, इति 'चित्रमिदम्' इति कथंकारं प्रतिपत्तिः। एकत्र तु निम्नोन्नतादिरहिते भित्तितले रेखाविभक्तनिम्नोन्नतादिविभागजुषि 'गम्भीर-नाभिरुन्नतस्तनीयम्' इति चित्रावभासो युक्तः, तद्वत् एकप्रकाशभित्तिलग्नत्वेन वैचित्र्यात्मकभेदोपपत्तिः, इति भावभेदग्रहणप्रकाशभित्तेरनपायिनीं स्वप्रकाशतामाह।"

[134] *Ibid*, 1. VI. 11:—

"अतएव यथाभीष्टसमुल्लेखावभासनात्।
ज्ञानक्रिये स्फुटे एव सिद्धे सर्व्वस्य जीवतः॥"

"यदिदं यथाभीष्टस्य बहिरसत्त्वात् अननुभूतस्यापि सम्यक् उल्लेखनम्, अवभासनं च विकल्पस्य प्रसङ्गात् दर्शितम् अस्मादेव हेतोः इदमपि सिध्यति यः कश्चित् कीटो वा ब्रह्मा वा जीवनक्रियाविष्टस्तस्य अवभासनरूपा ज्ञानशक्तिः उल्लेखनरूपा च क्रियाशक्ति-

नैसर्गिकी ...... इति स्वमेव ऐश्वर्य्यं स्फुटं प्रत्यभिज्ञेयं जानाति करोति च— इति ज्ञानक्रियास्वातन्त्र्यलक्षणम् एकवचनेन सर्व्वस्य जीवजातस्य वस्तुत एकेश्वररूपतां सूचयति।"

[135] *Ibid*, 1. VIII. 10-11 :—

"न च अस्य असौ प्रकाशलक्षणः स्वात्मा नीलाद्युपरागश्च परामर्शशून्य एव आस्ते—स्फटिकमणेरिव, अपि तु सदैव विमृश्यमाणरूपः ...... स एव अहंभावात्मा विमर्शो, देवस्य क्रियादिमयस्य, शुद्धे पारमार्थिक्यौ ज्ञानक्रिये, प्रकाशरूपता ज्ञानं तत्रैव स्वातन्त्र्यात्मा विमर्शः क्रिया, विमर्शश्च अन्तःकृतप्रकाशः इति विमर्श एव परावस्थायां ज्ञानक्रिये, etc."

[136] *Ibid*, IV. VI. 7, 1. VIII. 7. where माया is explained as 'विच्छेदनावभासनरूपा शक्तिः' and 'इदन्ता' as 'विच्छिन्नावभासनम्'। By 'इदन्ता' it seems that the Trika writers meant 'a section' of the 'total reality' शिव measured by the intellect of the limited cogniser as मेय or वेद्य devoid of the power of self-cogitation or स्वात्मविमर्श। The special sense of this term will be clear from the following quotations :—

(1) 2. IV. 19 :—"एवं जड़स्य 'इदम्' इति परिनिष्ठिताभासतया सर्व्वतः परिच्छिन्नरूपत्वेन प्रमेयपदपतितस्य, etc."

(2) 3. I. 3 :—"अहमिति च ग्राहके इदमिति च ग्राह्ये, etc."

(3) 3. I. 4 :—"इदंभावोपपन्नानां वेद्यभूमिमुपेयुषाम्।"

(4) 3. I. 8 :—"सर्व्वं चैवेदं शून्यादि वस्तुतश्चिन्मात्रसारमेव माययैव तावदचिद्रूपतया भाषितम्।"

(5) 3. II. 12 :—"यतो 'मितम्' इदन्तापन्नदेहादिशून्यान्तप्रमेयभागनिमग्नत्वात् प्रमेयम्।"

(6) 1. I. 5, 2. IV. 1 :—"अथ इदन्तया पृथग्भावावभासनेन, etc."

[137] *Cf*. M. Mm. Verse 17 with commentary.

[138] मालिनीविजयोत्तर, 1. 26 :—

"सा चैका व्यापिनीरूपा निष्कला जगतो निधिः।
अनाद्यन्ताशिवेशानी व्ययहीना च कथ्यते॥"

[139] *Ibid*, 1. 27. 33:—

"असूत सा कलातत्त्वं यद्योगादभवत् पुमान्।
जातकर्तृत्वसामर्थ्यो विद्यारागौ ततोऽसृजत्॥
कलादिक्षितिपर्यन्तमेतत्संसारमण्डलम्।
समुद्रादि जगत् कृत्स्नं परिवर्त्तयतीच्छया॥"

[140] विज्ञानभैरव, verses 8-9:—

"यत् किंचित् सकलं रूपं भैरवस्य प्रकीर्त्तितम्॥
तदसारतया देवि विज्ञेयं शक्रजालवत्॥
मायास्वप्नोपमं चैव गन्धर्व्वनगरभ्रमम्॥"

[141] *Ibid*, verse 95:—

"माया विमोहिनी नाम कलायाः कलनं स्थितम्।
इत्यादिधर्म्मं तत्त्वानां कलयन्न पृथग् भवेत्॥"

Cf. also commentary of शिवोपाध्याय—"विशेषेण भेदप्रथात्मकेन पुरुषं मोहयति इति मायायाः एव मोहनत्वं धर्म्म इति।"

[142] शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिक under 1. 20:—"अविवेको मायासौषुप्तम्।"

"ज्ञानशक्तिस्वरूपायाः शक्तेरनुदयो यदा।
चिद्रूपस्याविवेकः स्याद् असावेवाविमर्शतः॥
सैव मायाप्रतिजल्पपोषकत्वात् प्रकीर्त्तिता।
अर्थस्मृतिः स्वात्मसंस्थे चिद्रूपे सा सुषुप्तता॥"

The mind-energy of जीव evolves the worlds of ग्राह्य and ग्राहक. *Cf.* भाष्य of शङ्कर on the माण्डूक्यकारिका, verse 4:—"जाग्रत्प्रज्ञा अनेकसाधना बहिर्विषया एव अवभासमाना मनःस्पन्दनमात्रा सती, etc." It is also गौड़पाद's standpoint that the world of duality, *viz.*, ग्राह्य and ग्राहक, is an outcome of the स्पन्दन of चित्त—a product of माया. *Cf.* कारिका, IV. 72.

[143] *Cf.* शङ्करभाष्य on Vyā. Sū. 1. IV. 3:—

"तदधीनत्वादर्थवत्।" "अविद्यात्मिका बीजशक्तिरव्यक्तशब्दनिर्द्देश्या परमेश्वराश्रया मायामयी महासुप्तिः, यस्यां स्वरूपप्रतिबोधरहिताः शेरते संसारिणो जीवाः।"

The exact propriety of this illustration of 'महासुप्ति' Anandagiri brings out by showing the three following characteristics common to both सुषुप्ति and माया :—

(1) अग्रहवत्त्व—non-perceptibility (of the real self).

(2) विपर्य्यासवत्त्व—distorted perception of the same.

(3) अनन्तजीवनिर्भासहेतुत्व—causing the appearance of an infinite plurality of individual souls.

[144] शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिक on III. 3 :—

"'इत्थं' नित्यस्य च द्रष्टुः किमावरणमुच्यते 'कलादीनां तत्त्वानामविवेको माया' "

[145] *Ibid*, III. 3 :—

"किञ्चित्कर्त्तृत्वादिरूपा कलादिक्षित्यन्तानां तत्त्वानां कञ्चुकपुर्य्यष्टकस्थूलदेहत्वेन अवस्थितानां योऽयमविवेकः पृथक्त्वाभिमतानामेव अपृथगात्मत्वेन प्रतिपत्तिः, सा माया 'तत्त्वाख्यातिमयः' प्रपञ्चः ।"

[146] शिवसूत्र—6 :—"मोहावरणात् सिद्धिः ।"

Ibid, 7 :—"मोहजयात् अनन्तभोगात् सहजविद्योदयः ।"

सहजविद्या Bhāskara explains as 'स्वप्रकाशात्मिका विद्या सहजा,' and सिद्धि as 'सिद्धिः स्यात् आत्मनः सर्व्वज्ञत्वकर्त्तृत्वलक्षणा ।' मोह he explains as 'बहुशाख,' *e.g.*, काम, क्रोध, लोभ, हर्ष, भय, त्रास and even प्रहर्ष ।

[147] —"तत्रैव स्वस्वभावव्योम्नि निवृत्ताधिकारः प्रतीयन्ते, शान्तरूपः, मायाकालुष्यरहितः, etc."

[148] *Ibid*, III. 40 :—

"ग्लानिः किल शरीरस्य विनाशिनी, सा च ग्लानिः अज्ञानात् उत्पद्यते, तदज्ञानम् , etc."

[149] —"सेयं क्रियात्मिका शक्तिः शिवस्य पशुवर्त्तिनी ।
बन्धयित्री स्वमार्गस्था ज्ञाता सिद्ध्युपपादिका ॥"

Cf. also वृत्ति—"सा च इयं क्रियास्वभावा भगवति पशुवर्त्तिनी शक्तिः........ सैव बन्धकारणमज्ञाता, ज्ञाता सा च पुनः परापरसिद्धिप्रदा भवति पुंसाम् ।"

150 ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा—1. 1. 3:—

"किन्तु मोहवशादस्मिन् दृष्टेऽप्यनुपलक्षिते।
शक्त्याविष्करणेनेयं प्रत्यभिज्ञोपदर्श्यते॥"

151 *Ibid*, 1. V. 18:—

"मायाशक्त्या विभोः सैव भिन्नसंवेद्यगोचरा।
कथिता ज्ञानसंकल्पाध्यवसायादिनामभिः॥"

152 *Ibid*, 1. VI. 4-5:—

"चित्तत्वं मायया हित्वा भिन्न एवावभाति यः।
देहे बुद्धावथ प्राणे कल्पिते नभसीव वा॥
प्रमातृत्वेनाहमिति विमर्शोऽन्यव्यपोहनात्।
विकल्प एव स परप्रतियोग्यवभासजः॥"

Cf. also Abhinava's commentary on them. चित्तत्वं मायया हित्वा is explained by him as "प्रकाशमात्ररूपम् सदप्यपह्नस्तनतया अप्रधानीकृत्य।"—This practically means 'आवरण।' The second portion of the above sloka (No. 4) with the 1st part of sloka 5 refers to 'विक्षेप।'

153 *Ibid*, 1. V. 21:—

"केवलं भिन्नसंवेद्य-देशकालानुरोधतः।
ज्ञानस्मृत्यवसायादि सक्रमं प्रतिभासते॥"

Ibid, 1. VIII. 1:—

"या चैषा प्रतिभा तत्तत्पदार्थक्रमरूषिता।
अक्रमानन्तचिद्रूपः प्रमाता स महेश्वरः॥"

154 *Ibid*, 1. VIII. 9:—

"उल्लेखस्य सुखादेश्च प्रकाशो बहिरात्मना।
इच्छातो भर्त्तुरध्यक्षरूपोऽश्वादिभुवां यथा॥"

155 *Ibid*, 1. VI. 7:—

"तदेवं व्यवहारेऽपि प्रभुर्देहादिमाविशन्।
भान्तमेवान्तरर्थौघमिच्छया भासयेद्द बहिः॥"

[156] *Ibid*, 1. VIII. 7 :—

"चिन्मयत्वे ऽवभासानामन्तरेव स्थितिः सदा।
मायया भासमानानां बाह्यत्वाद् बहिरप्यसौ ॥"

[157] *Ibid*, 1. VIII. 8 :—

"विकल्पे योऽयमुल्लेखः सोऽपि बाह्यः पृथक्प्रथः।
प्रमात्रैकात्म्यमान्तर्यं ततो भेदो हि बाह्यता ॥"

Cf. Abhinava's remark on the same—"कान्ताचौरादिरर्थः सोऽपि बाह्यः, न केवलं बहिरवलोक्यमानः,......ततो यत् भिन्नं तत् बाह्यमेव इति युक्ता— उल्लेखस्यापि अर्थक्रिया।"

[158] *Ibid*, 111. I. 8 :—

"भेदे त्वेकरसे भातेऽहंतयानात्मनीक्षिते।
शून्ये बुद्धौ शरीरे वा मायाशक्तिर्विजृम्भते ॥"

Also 111. II. 2-3 :—

"स्वाङ्गरूपेषु भावेषु प्रमाता कथ्यते पतिः।
मायातो भेदिषु क्लेश-कर्मादिकलुषः पशुः ॥"

[159] मालिनीविजयोत्तर, 1. 23 :—

"मलैकयुक्तास्तत्कर्मयुक्ताः प्रलयकेवलाः।
मलमज्ञानमिच्छन्ति संसाराङ्कुरकारणम् ॥"

One point of difficulty in connecting 'मल' with माया so far as मालिनी is concerned lies in the fact that मल is mentioned separately from माया in the list of 'हेय' objects— "मलः कर्म च माया च मायिकमखिलं जगत्।" कर्म later on, is said to have its origin from माया। But whence मल arises is not explicitly mentioned.

[160] *Cf*. ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा, III. II. 4-5 :—

"स्वातन्त्र्यहानिर्बोधस्य स्वातन्त्र्यस्याप्यबोधता।
द्विधाणवं मलमिदं स्वस्वरूपापहानितः ॥
भिन्नवेद्यप्रथात्रैव मायाख्यं जन्मभोगदम्।
कर्तर्यबोधे कार्मं तु मायाशक्त्यैव तत्त्रयम् ॥"

For the terms—क्लेश, कर्म्म, विपाक, and आशय *cf.* पातञ्जल-योगसूत्र 5-9, साधनपाद and also सूत्र 13, and व्यासभाष्य on them.

[161] Sp. Viv. I. IV :—

"यत: तासु अवस्थासु अनुभवितु: एवंविधा: प्रत्यया: प्रादुर्भवन्ति, तद् यथा—मनुष्योऽहं, ब्राह्मणोऽहं, देवदत्तोऽहं, युवाहं, वृद्धोऽहं, कृशोऽहं, स्थूलोऽहम् इत्यादयो देहालम्बना:, सुखितोऽहं, दु:खितोऽहम्,—इत्यादयो बुद्ध्यालम्बना : क्षुधितोऽहं, तृषितोऽहम्,—इत्यादय: प्राणालम्बना:। शून्यताप्रमातृप्रत्ययश्च 'नाहं' किञ्चित् अवेदिषम्,—इति प्रत्यवमर्शप्रत्येय: सुषुप्ताद्यवस्थात: प्रतिबुद्धस्य शून्यालम्बन: प्रादुर्भवति। त एते देहादय: सर्व्वे एव अनित्या:, तदालम्बनश्च अहंप्रत्ययोऽपि अनित्य एव। etc."

Cf. also Vṛtti on Sp. Kār. I. IV :—

"अतश्च एकैव संवित् उपलब्धृरूपा अहमिति स्फुरन्ती पारमार्थिकी, मायाशक्ति-जनित-तथाविधस्वभाव-परामर्शाभावबलात् सुखाद्यनित्यवस्तुवेदकत्वेन 'अहं सुखी दु:खी च'—इत्यादिना, etc., etc."

Cf. रामकण्ठवृत्ति on Sp. Kār. I. IV., referred to in the above.

[162] *Cf.* रामकण्ठवृत्ति on स्पन्दकारिका, II. 2 :—

"परमेश्वर एव स्वमायावशात् नानाचित्रज्ञरूपतयावभासमान: स्वामेव अव्यतिरिक्तां परां शक्तिं ज्ञानज्ञेयभावेन अवभासयन् जागरस्वप्नदशाव्यवहारमुद्भावयति ; एतदेव च अस्या: शक्ते: पारम्यम्—यत् स्वस्य वैभवस्वरूपस्य प्रकाशमानता अतिरोदधती ज्ञानज्ञेयमयानन्तरूपतया स्फुरति।"

Cf. also Vṛtti on Kārikā, IV. XIII :—

'मायाशक्तिजनितेन हि विकल्पतिमिरेण तिरस्कृतसम्यग्ज्ञानदृश एकमेव निर्विभागचिन्मात्रस्वरूपमात्मतत्त्वं प्रमातृभेदेन प्रमेयभेदेन च नानारूपं पश्यन्तो दिदृक्षितदृश्यमानदृष्टाद्यवस्थाविभागं भावानां परिकल्प्य, दिदृक्षितानामपि तेषां जीवस्वभावादभेदं वस्तुसन्तमेव परामष्टुमशक्ता:, कुतो जगद्भावानां परमात्म-स्वभावानामभावानामभेदं प्रतिपद्येरन्, etc."

[163] *Cf.* *ibid*, III. 3 :—

"तत्र मायाशक्तिवैभवविस्मारिततात्त्विकस्वभावतया वस्तुसंवेदनावसरे स्वरूपा-परामर्शत्वमुकुलितसामर्थ्योऽयं जीव: अवच्छिन्नाहंकारास्पदतया शिर:पाण्यादि-

मच्छरीरत्वेन यत् परामृशति तत् अस्य सूक्ष्मादिमयत्वात् भूतात्मकमित्युक्तम्।......
एवं संवेद्यमानतालक्षणभावसंसर्गावस्थायां जीवः......सर्व्वमयो विश्वरूपः स्थितोऽपि सन् तथावस्तुसंवेदनतत्त्वपरामर्शानुन्मेषात् सर्व्वमिदम् आत्मव्यतिरिक्तकारणान्तरलब्धात्मकत्वेन आत्मनः परस्परतश्च पृथक्त्वेन व्यवच्छिन्दन्, आत्मानं च देहाद्यनित्यभावाहंभावेन अध्यवस्यन् जन्मादिबन्धभाक् संसारी जीव इति व्यपदिश्यते।"—The quotation from गौड़पाद is माण्डूक्यकारिका XII, द्वितीय प्रकरण—वैतथ्य।

[164] The word अज्ञान is once used in the शिवसूत्र in the second Sūtra of 1st Prakāśa, *viz.*, "अज्ञानं बन्धः।" This reading of the Sūtra after the 1st Sūtra "चैतन्यमात्मा" attaching 'अ'-vowel is not even universally accepted by the Trika writers. The word अज्ञान occurs in the Kallaṭa Vṛtti on the Sp. Kār. III. 40.

[165] *Cf.* रामकण्ठवृत्ति on Sp. Kār. :—

"अज्ञानं नाम जन्म-परिणाम-विवृद्धि-क्षय-विनाशात्मकविकारविरहितनित्यनिर्व्विकारस्वस्वभावाप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् जन्मादिविकाराधिकरणे कलेवरादौ आत्माभिमानः, यस्मिंश्च सति अप्रबुद्धो जनः तद्विकारान् जन्मादीन् आत्मनि आरोपयन् ग्लान्या विलुण्ठ्यते।"

[166] *Cf. ibid*, II. II.
Cf. do. IV. 16:—

"मायाशक्तिरेव केवला प्रभो र्विश्वरूपैश्वर्य्यप्रथास्पदभूता विजृम्भते।"

[167] *Cf. ibid*, I. 2:—

"वृत्तिरेवं बोद्धव्या,—संसारिणां तन्मायावभासितजात्याद्यभिमाना मायीयावस्था, तस्यामपि तस्य स्वस्वभावस्य तत्त्वतो निरोधो नास्ति इति।"

The conception of माया as the विभूति or ऐश्वर्य्य (wealth) of शिव requires a closer examination. The best explanation from Trika point of view is given by Abhinava in his तन्त्रालोक, प्रथम आह्निक, पञ्चम श्लोक। Three elements, according to him, go to make up this idea. They are :—

(*i*) स्वातन्त्र्य शक्ति or power of self-determination—Śiva stage.

(*ii*) क्रमसंसिसृक्षा or the desire of creating world-diversities (विश्ववैचित्र्य) in the order of succession—this is Śakti stage.*

(*iii*) क्रमात्मता or manifesting Himself in the form of temporal succession—Nara stage.

Quite different from this is the idea of ऐश्वर्य conceived by the Strict Advaita School. सर्व्वज्ञमुनि, for example, explains it as 'those acquired aspects of Brahman in relation to the created world which are often described in Śruti texts.' Some of them are as follows:—

(*i*) वशित्व (or the aspect of the controller *e.g.*, सर्व्वस्य वशी, etc. [Vṛh. Up. 4-4-22, etc.]

(*ii*) अन्तर्यामित्व (or the aspect of the inner controller) *e.g.*, [Vṛh. Up. 3-7-3, 2-5-15, etc.]

(*iii*) ईशितृत्व (or Lordship over the world).

(*iv*) नियन्तृत्व (or the aspect of the determinator).

(*v*) सर्व्वाश्रयत्व (or the condition of being the upholder of all).

(*vi*) सर्व्वात्मत्व (or the aspect of being the indwelling spirit of all created things).

According to Trika ऐश्वर्य or विभूति proceeding from माया is perfectly natural (स्वाभाविकी) to शिव whereas in the other school it is unreal and something *ex abrupto* with regard to Brahman as it proceeds from माया which is unreal and adventitious.

[168] This point that माया rests on the संवित् of all-filling complete I-ness is expressed by रामकण्ठ in his विवृति on स्पन्दकारिका, IV. 16 as:—

"मायाशक्तिः परस्याः संविदः सर्व्वापूरकपरिपूर्णाहंकारलक्षणे स्वभावे एव विश्रान्तत्वात् प्रत्यस्तमिता सती परमानन्दनिर्भरशिवरूपं तिरोधातुं नालम्, etc."

[169] The point of similarity between रामकण्ठ and सर्व्वज्ञात्ममुनि is that शिवसंवित् or ब्रह्म, as the case might be,

is both the (1) आश्रय on which माया depends for existence and the (2) विषय or the subject which is affected by her activities.

[170] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, Vol. VI. 9th Ahnika, Sls. 149-150:—

"माया च नाम देवस्य शक्तिरव्यतिरेकिणी ॥
भेदावभासस्वातन्त्र्यं तथा हि स तया कृतः ।"

The idea of tracing माया up to the final स्वातन्त्र्य conception of शक्ति—the main thesis of Abhinava will be clear from the following:—

(*i*) "तथापि तु या विशेषरूपता भाति तस्याः परमेश्वरस्वातन्त्र्यमेव निमित्तं यत्, तत् 'मायाशक्ति'रित्युच्यते।..." I. P. V. II. III. 9.

(*ii*) "तस्मात् परमेश्वरस्येदं तत्परं स्वातन्त्र्यं यत् तथावभासनं ... सैषा भगवती मायाशक्तिरुच्यते।" I. P. V. II. III. 17.

(*iii*) *Cf.* also I. P. V. II. IV. 20.

(*iv*) "तत्र च चित्तत्त्वस्यैव स्वातन्त्र्यं मायाशक्ति।" I. P. V. I. V. 18.

(*v*) "तदपहस्तने तु परमेश्वरस्य स्वात्मप्रच्छादनेच्छारूपाभेदाप्रकाशनं भ्रान्तिरूपं प्रति स्वातन्त्र्यरूपा मायाशक्तिर्हेतुः।" I. P. V. I. VI. 5.

(*vi*) "यदा तु मायाशक्त्या विच्छेदनावभासनस्वातन्त्र्यरूपया, etc."
I. P. V. I. VIII. 7.

[171] *Cf.* I. P. V. I. V. 14:—

"सारमिति यत् अतुच्छं रूपं तत् इयमेव विमर्शशक्तिः, ग्राह्यग्राहकाणां यत् प्रकाशात्मकं रूपं तस्यापि अप्रकाशवैलक्षण्याक्षेपिका इयमेव इति, श्रीसारशास्त्रेऽपि निरूपितम्।"

[172] Abhinava dwells often on this 'दुर्घटकारित्व' conception of माया and, therefore, ultimately of the 'स्वातन्त्र्य' power of the Lord. The following quotations taken together make his position perfectly clear:—

(*i*) "अतिदुर्घटकारित्वलक्षणैश्वर्य-विजृम्भाभावित्वादद्भुतभावः, etc., etc."
I. P. V. I. I. 1.

(*ii*) "इह परमेश्वरस्य इदमेव परं स्वातन्त्र्यम्—यत्......प्राच्यपशुदशा-विशेषासंभाव्यमानातिदुष्करवस्तुसंपादनम्, etc., etc.
I. P. V. II. III. 17.

(*iii*) *Cf.* Ī. P. V., II. IV. 20.
(*iv*) *Cf.* Ī. P. V., III. I. 8.

With regard to the conception of दुर्घटत्व of माया in the Trika a comparison with the similar idea in the later Vedanta of the strict Advaita School is not only interesting but helpful towards its proper understanding. Taking सर्व्वज्ञात्ममुनि who flourished in 900 A.D., a little earlier than Avinava, as a representative of Advaita Vedanta we find that he lays down a general proposition that there is nothing that cannot be had out of भ्रम or Error "भ्रमात् अलभ्यं नहि किञ्चिदस्ति।" (संक्षेपशारीरक, Ch. III., Sl. 115). Then he goes on to say that अविद्या or माया is of the nature of भ्रान्ति and so she gives all kinds of impossible combinations of happenings (घटना) as we often perceive in dreams. As illustrations of such impossible combinations he mentions the following strange experiences :—(I) Feeling as if eating the sky (खमपि खादति), (II) Feeling as if the sky is sundered into pieces (खमपि खण्डितमीक्षते) and (III) Seeing with eyes his own head cut off and placed on the palm of his hands (निजशिरो नयनेन करार्पितम्). Hence, according to the strict Advaita Vedanta अविद्या or माया is an 'A-logical principle' having 'सर्व्वानुपपत्ति,' *i.e.*, a sort of meeting-ground of all contradictions (from the point of view of relative reasoning). This is her adornment (भूषणम्) because of which she is what she is. Otherwise she would lose her distinctive erroneous character (भ्रान्तित्व). This position is clearly explained by the following couplet of इष्टसिद्धि, a work on Advaita Vedanta by सुरेश्वर, a famous disciple of शङ्कर, who flourished about 800 A.D. :—

"दुर्घटत्वमविद्याया: भूषणम्, न तु दूषणम्। कथञ्चिद् घटमाने ऽप्यविद्यात्वं दुर्घटं भवेत्॥"

[173] *Cf.* I. P. V. I. VI. 3 :—

"तस्य च प्रमातुरन्त: सर्व्वार्थावभास:, चिन्मात्रशरीरोऽपि तत्सामानाधिकरण्यवृत्तिरपि दर्पणनगरन्यायेनास्ति इत्यपि उक्तम्। एवं च तत्प्रतिभां घटाभासम्, एतत्-

प्रतिभां च अघटाभासं प्रमाता भजते सेवते तावत्, तदविकल्पदशायां चित्स्वभावोऽसौ घटः चिद्वदेव विश्वशरीरः पूर्णः, न च तेन केचिद्व्यवहाराः, तत् मायाव्यापारमुल्लासयन् पुनरपि खण्डयति भाव' तेनाघटस्यात्मनः पटादेरपोहनं क्रियते निषेधनरूपं, तदेव व्यपोहनमाश्रित्य तस्य घटस्य निश्चयनमुच्यते 'घट एव' इति एवार्थस्य संभाव्यमानापरवस्तुनिषेधरूपत्वात्.........".

[174] *Cf.* I. P. V., I. V. 18:—

"तत्र च चित्तत्त्वस्यैव स्वातन्त्र्य मायाशक्तिः, तया भिन्नं यत् संवेद्यं प्रमातुश्च अन्योन्यतश्च, मायाशक्त्या भिन्नेन प्रमातुः अन्योन्यतो वेद्याच्च, etc."

[175] *Cf.* I. P. V., II. III. 17:—

"इतश्च किम् अतिदुष्करं भविष्यति,—यत्प्रकाशात्मनि अखण्डिततादात्म्ये एव प्रकाशमाने प्रकाशननिषेधावभासः प्रकाशमानः। तस्मात् परमेश्वरस्येदं तत् परं स्वातन्त्र्य यत् तथावभासनं पशुरूपतावभासनं नाम ग्राहकांशसमुत्थापनं, तद्द्वारेण च ग्राह्योल्लासनमपि। सैषा भगवती मायाशक्तिरुच्यते'।"

[176] They are known in Indian Philosophical Literature as "ख्यातिपञ्चक," *viz.*, (I) आत्मख्याति, (II) असत्ख्याति, (III) अन्यथाख्याति, (IV) अख्याति and (V) अनिर्व्वचनीयख्याति। आत्मख्याति theory of illusory apprehension is held by the Buddhists, अन्यथाख्याति by the न्याय, वैशेषिक and योग, the अख्याति by the मीमांसा and सांख्य and अनिर्व्वचनीयख्याति by the Advaita Vedanta. For the best explanation of these theories we refer our readers to Dr. S. N. Dasgupta's excellent work "A History of Indian Philosophy," Vol. I, pp. 384-386 and also 486.

[177] *Cf.* I. P. V., II. III. 13:—

"......ततो यावता पूर्णेन रूपेण प्रख्यातव्यं विमर्शपर्य्यन्त' तावत् न प्रख्याति,—इत्यपूर्णख्यातिरूपा अख्यातिरेव भ्रान्तितत्त्वम्। तद्वशेन असद्विपरीतानिर्व्वाच्यादिख्यातयोऽपि उच्यन्ताम्।"

"ननु सत्यरूप्यज्ञानमपि अपूर्णख्यातिः। ततस्तर्हि किम्? इदमतः सर्व्वं भ्रान्तिः—इत्यागच्छेत्। दिष्ट्या दृष्टिरुन्मिमीलिषति आयुष्मतः, मायापदं हि सर्व्वं भ्रान्तिः; तत्रापि तु स्वप्ने स्वप्न इव गण्डे स्फोट इव अपरेयं भ्रान्तिरुच्यते, अनुद्वच्युचितस्यापि विमर्शस्य अस्थैर्य्यात्।"

[178] *Cf.* I. P. V., II. IV. 20.

[179] *Cf.* also II. IV. 3.

[180] The word "अनिर्व्वचनीय" is difficult to be properly rendered in English. 'निर्व्वचन' means 'to explain a thing conclusively by showing its cause of origin' (निर्णयेन वचनम्). In the strict Advaita School they seemed to have understood it in the sense of indeterminable as "either existent or non-existent." चित्सुखाचार्य्य, one of the greatest intellects of this school, puts the meaning thus:—

प्रत्येकं सदसत्त्वाभ्यां विचारपदवीं न यत्।
गाहते तदनिर्व्वाच्यमाहुर्वेदान्तवादिनः॥"

Cf. Chitsukhī, 1st Ch., pages 78-79.

In the famous work named 'चित्सुखी' which was composed a little later than 1190 A. D. after Śrīharsha's work 'खण्डनखण्डखाद्य' when the Kashmere Saivistic School had already spread itself over the soil of Kashmere, we find the Trika view of माया as the ज्ञानशक्ति of परमेश्वर anticipated and discarded after much dialectical discussion. These discussions of चित्सुखी on the meaning of the word अनिर्व्वचनीय and the ultimate nature of माया, as against all the other Schools of thought the then existing including possibly the Kashmere Trika (though not named by Trika), leaves no doubt as to the point of difference between the two Schools of Advaita.

In support of this we quote the following from चित्सुखी:—

"नापि नसदासीत् नो सदासीदिति उपक्रम्य तम आसीत्, मायान्तु प्रकृतिं विद्यात् इन्द्रो मायाभिः इत्यागमस्तत्र प्रमाणम्। तमःशब्देन सांसारिकपुरुषाणां प्रलयकालीनज्ञानाभावस्यैव उच्यमानत्वात्, मायाशब्देन च परमेश्वरज्ञानशक्तेरेव तत्-स्वरूपभूतायाः संकीर्त्तनात्।............न च परमेश्वरशक्तिर्माया। 'भूयश्चान्ते विश्व-मायानिवृत्तिः, मायामेतां तरन्ति ते, तरत्यविद्याम्.........इत्यादिना ज्ञाननिवर्त्त्य मायाशब्दप्रयोगदर्शनात्। *Cf.* चित्सुखी—Nirṇayasāgara edition, pages 57-60. For the discussion of अनिर्व्वचनीय, *cf.* 75-79.

[181] मालिनीविजयोत्तर, प्रथम अधिकार, Sl. 27 :—

"असूत सा कलातत्त्वं यद्योगादभवत् पुमान् ।
जातकर्तृत्वसामर्थ्यो विद्यारागौ ततोऽसृजत् ॥"

[182] *Ibid*, Sl. 28.

"विद्या विवेचयत्यस्य कर्म्म तत्कार्य्यकारणे ।"

[183] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, नवाह्निक, Sl. 192, 193:—

"बुद्धिं पश्यति सा विद्या
बुद्धिदर्पणचारिणः ॥
सुखादीन् प्रत्ययान् मोह-
प्रभृतीन् कार्य्यकारणे ।
कर्म्मजालं च तत्स्थं
विविनक्ति निजात्मना ॥"

[184] *Cf.* *Ibid*, 194 :—

"बुद्धिस्तु गुणसंकीर्णा विवेकेन कथं सुखम् ।
दुःखं मोहात्मकं वापि विषयं दर्शयेदपि ॥"

[185] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक, नवमाह्निक, Sl. 195, and also commentary of Jayaratha :—

"सत्यं, सुखाद्यात्मकं विषयं बुद्धिदर्पणवदेव दर्शयेत् ; किन्तु गुणसंकीर्णत्वात् न विवेकेनेत्यभिदध्मः ।.........न च दर्शनमात्रमेव विषयसंवेदनं येन भवेदपि विवेकः, तस्य हि अध्यवसायो जीवितम् ।......न चेयं पूर्व्वदृष्टात् दुःखादेरस्य विवेकं कर्त्तुं शक्नुयात् जाड्यादेव अनुसंधातुमशक्यत्वात् ।"

[186] *Cf.* *Ibid*, Sl. 196 and 197 :—

"ननु चोभयतः शुभ्रादर्शदेशीयधीगतात् ।
पुम्प्रकाशादभाति भावः सेदं तत्प्रतिविम्बनम् ॥
जडमेव हि मुख्योऽय पुम्प्रकाशोऽस्य भासनम् ।
बहिःस्थस्यैव तस्यास्तु बुद्धेः किंकल्पना कृता ॥"

Cf. also Jayaratha's comment on these Slokas.

[187] I. P. V., III. I. 9:—

"अत्र चांशे तुल्ये किंचित्त्वे कस्मादिदमेव किंचित्,—इत्यत्रार्थेऽभिष्वङ्गरूपः प्रमातरि देहादौ प्रमेये च गुणारोपणमय इव रागो व्याप्रियते।"

[188] *Cf. Ibid*:—

"न च तद्बुद्धिगतमवैराग्यमेव, तद्धि स्थूलं वृद्धस्य प्रमदायां न भवेदपि रागस्तु भवत्येव। बुद्धिधर्म्माष्टकेऽपि च दृष्टोऽभिष्वङ्गः *cf.* also Jayaratha's remarks on तन्त्रालोक 9th Āhnika Sl. 201.

[189] *Cf.* Jayaratha's commentary on तन्त्रालोक 9-199-200.

"कलाविद्ययोर्हि किंचित्त्वमपूर्णत्वमात्राभिधायि, इत्युक्तम्; इदं पुनस्तथात्वेऽपि प्रतिनियतवस्तुपर्य्यवसायि, इत्यवश्यमत्रास्य केनचिदपरेण निमित्तेन भाव्यं, यद्वशाद् तत्रैव अणोरासङ्गो भवेत्।"

[190] For the definition of नियति *cf.* मालिनीविजयोत्तर I. 19.

(*i*) "नियतिर्योजयत्येनं स्वके कर्म्मणि पुद्गलम्।"

(*ii*) also तन्त्रालोक IX. 202:—

"नियतिर्योजनां धत्ते विशिष्टे कार्य्यमण्डले।"

(*iii*) I. P. V., III. I. 9:—

"अत्रैव कस्मादभिष्वङ्ग इत्ययमर्थो नियत्या नियम्यते।"

(*iv*) Jayaratha on IX. 202, तन्त्रालोक says—

"नियतिर्हि 'अस्मादेव कारणादिदमेव कार्य्यं भवेत्' इति नियममादध्यादित्युक्तम्।"

[191] *Cf.* Jayaratha's prefatory remarks in his commentary on तन्त्रालोक—IX. 202:—

"ननु तामर्थक्रियामर्थयमानो जनः किञ्चिदुपादत्ते, किंचिच्च जहाति, इति नास्ति विमतिः; कुतः पुनरयं नियमो—यत् पाकार्थी वह्निमेवादित्सति न लोष्टं, स्वर्गार्थी च ज्योतिष्टोममेव न श्येनम् इति तदवश्यमत्र केनचिन्निमित्तेन भाव्यं, तच्च किमाशङ्क्याह नियतिरिति।" As for the end to be achieved by the sacrifices ज्योतिष्टोम and श्येन *cf.* the Mīmaṃsā dictum—"स्वर्गकामो ज्योतिष्टोमेन यजेत" and "शत्रुवधकामः श्येनेन यजेत।"

[192] *Cf.* I. P. V., II. III. 8:—

"तथापि स एवाभासो यावद्भिराभासैरविनाभूतो भगवत्या नियतिशक्त्या नियमित: etc."

[193] *Cf.* "तद्यथा—'रुद्रप्रमातॄणां निरतिशयानि सर्व्वज्ञत्वादिगुणयुक्तानि तै: किल सर्व्वमिदमेकस्मिन् क्षणे युगपद् ज्ञायते, सम्पद्यते च। चेतज्ञानां पुनरेतान्येव करणानि परमेश्वरनियतिशक्तिनियन्त्रितानि सन्ति, घटपटादिपदार्थमात्रज्ञानकरण-समर्थान्येव, न तै: सर्व्वं ज्ञायते, नापि क्रियते। तत्रापि योगिनामतिशय: करणानाम्—यत् निरतिशक्तिसमुल्लङ्घनात् तदीयै: करणै: दूरव्यवहितविप्रकृष्टमपि' परिच्छिद्यते।"

[194] "तथाहि काल: क्रममासूत्रयन् प्रमातरि विजृम्भमान: तदनुसारेण प्रमेयेऽपि प्रसरति, योऽहं कृशोऽभवं स स्थूलो वर्त्ते भविष्यामि स्थूलतर:,—इत्येव-मात्मानं देहरूपं क्रमवन्तमिव परामृशन् तत्सहचारिणि प्रमेयेऽपि भूतादिरूपं क्रमं प्रकाशयति।"

[195] It must not, however, be understood that because the मालिनी explains the evolution of these principles in the order of cause and effect they follow in the ultimate sense in this order of time-succession. The reason for this is that they are all interdependent. *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक IX. 219 and also Jayaratha's comment thereon.

[196] स्वच्छन्द—XI. 63:—

"तस्मात् कालसमुत्पन्ना विद्या रागस्तथैव च।
कालो नियतितत्त्वञ्च पुंस्त्वं प्रकृतिस्तथा॥"

[197] तन्त्रालोक—IX. 203:—

"विद्या रागोऽथ नियति: कालश्चैतच्चतुष्टयम्।
कलाकार्य्यं भोक्तृभावे तिष्ठद्भोक्तृत्वपूरितम्।"

cf. also Jayaratha's commentary on the same.

[198] *Cf.* तन्त्रालोक IX. 213-214. and Jayaratha's comment:—

"एवं कलाख्यतत्त्वस्य किंचित्कर्त्तृत्वलक्षणं।
विशेषभागे कर्त्तृत्वं चर्चितं भोक्तृपूर्व्वकम्॥

विशेषणतया योऽस्य किञ्चिद्भागस्तदोल्थितम् ।
वेद्यमात्रं स्फुटं भिन्नं प्रधानं सूयते कला ॥"

[199] कञ्चुक means a 'tight-fitting robe' which obstructs the free movement of the body. Hence, by a figure of speech, these principles are so called because they obstruct the free movement of the soul towards its final goal. Sometimes माया is also added to these तत्त्वs and then they are called 'षट्कञ्चुक.' Sometimes again, they are enumerated as three leaving out काल and नियति and called "threefold कञ्चुक" (त्रिकञ्चुक). The earliest use of this word in Trika is to be found in a sūtra of Vasugupta, *viz.*, "भूतकञ्चुकी तदा विमुक्तो भूय: पतिसम: पर:" III. 42.

[200] स्पन्दकारिका—III. 45 and 48.

[201] I. P. V. III. I. 9:—

"एते च प्रमातृत्वगततयैव भान्ति, इति तस्यैव शक्तिरूपा: प्रतिप्रमातृभिन्ना एव, कदाचित् तु नटमल्लप्रेक्षादावीश्वरेच्छया एकीभवेयुरपि। न ह्येषामीश्वरेच्छातिरिक्तं निजं किमपि जीवितमस्ति, इत्यसकृदुक्तं वक्ष्यते च ॥"

[202] *Cf.* "स्वाभासा मातृका ज्ञेया क्रियाशक्ति: प्रभो: परा ॥
तस्या कलासमूह:, etc."

[203] विवृति of शिवोपाध्याय on विज्ञानभैरव Sl. 56:—

"परमेश्वरश्चिदानन्दघन: स्वतन्त्रभट्टारक: उन्मन्याख्यया स्वस्वातन्त्र्यशक्त्या शून्यादिचित्यन्तमनन्तं वाच्यवाचकरूपं स्वभित्तौ स्वानधिकमपि अधिकमिव युगपत् अवभासयति, etc."

[204] विवृति on वैज्ञानभैरव Sl. 56:—

"एवं वाच्यरूपा पारमेश्वरी कलाख्या शक्ति: उत्तरोत्तरवैशिष्ट्येन भुवनात्मतां गृह्णाति।" also "तत्र वाचकं ग्राहकभागावस्थितं परसूक्ष्मस्थूलभेदेन वर्णमन्त्रपदात्मकं त्रिधा, वाच्यमपि ग्राह्यभागाभिनिविष्टं कलातत्त्वभुवनात्मकं तथैव।"

[205] "विद्यादिशापितेश्वर्य्यश्चिद्घनो मुक्त: परमशिव एव। अस्यैव सर्व्वकर्तृत्व-सर्व्वज्ञत्व-पूर्णत्व-नित्यत्व-व्यापकत्व-शक्तयोऽसङ्कुचिता अपि सङ्कोचग्रहणेन कलाविद्या-राग-काल-नियति-रूपतया भवन्तीति।"—मञ्जुनाथविरचितं षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वदर्पणम् ॥

[206] *Cf.* स्वच्छन्द—द्वितीयपटल Sl. 42-43, and commentary of क्षेमराज thereon—

"शरीरोत्पत्तेः कारणं मायादिक्षित्यन्तं तत्त्वानि एकत्रिंशतं प्रणवेन श्रीमन्निष्कल-तुल्यव्याप्तिकेन शुद्धदेहोत्पत्त्यर्थं न्यसेत्। प्रणवन्यासाच्च एतानि प्राग्दशातोऽन्यादृश्येव। तथाहि—अख्यातिरूपा माया भेदप्रागल्भ्यविमोहिनी अस्य, कला पूजाध्यानादि-किञ्चित्कर्तृत्वोन्मीलिका विद्या तात्त्विक-विवेकप्रदा, रागो भक्त्यभिष्वङ्गप्रदः, काल उपदेशादिविषयकलनप्रदः, नियतिः भगवदाराधनादौ नियामकः।"

This process of purification of the tattvas is called in Trika by the technical term "तत्त्वशुद्धि." It is accomplished by mentally placing (न्यास) these tattvas in different parts of the lotus in the heart (हृदयपद्म) by uttering the प्रणव, as the result of which a new purified body arises. This may be likened to a similar process in योग called 'भूतशुद्धि' or rather "भूतजय" by concentrating on the essential character of the five भूतs. *Cf.* पातञ्जल सूत्र III. 44-45.

[207] From the passages quoted in Abhinava's commentary and also from Kshemarāja's quotations, it seems likely that there must have existed in the 10th or 11th century an immense amount of literature on Mantra-Śāstra such as Tantra-Sadbhāva, Śrīkaṇṭha Saṃhitā, Vādyatantra, Siddha-Santāna and a host of other tāntrik works which have not as yet been discovered.

[208] In this connection it may be said that Mr. P. T. Śrīnivas Iyengār's remarks in his Outlines of Indian Philosophy, P. I. 172—that Mātṛkā, the mother of the Universe, loses her importance in this school (*i.e.*, Pratyabhijñā) is not accurate as will be evident from a perusal of this section.

[209] Sāttvata-Saṃhitā, for example, does not mention the name Mātṛkā but seems to point her by the term Parā vāk in Chapter II, Upāsanāvidhi.

"तथार्कशशाङ्कमालम्ब्य परा वाक् भ्रमरीस्थिता।
या सर्व्वमन्त्रजननी शक्तिः शान्ततमा विभोः॥

वदन्ति वर्णजं नादं शब्दब्रह्मेति यत् स्मृतम् ।

अकारपूर्व्वो हान्तश्च धारासन्तानरूपधृक् ॥"

Cf. also Chapter V, śloka 101:—

"भ्रुवा सामर्थ्यं शक्तिर्वै स्पन्दतामेति च स्वयम् ।

सूतेऽग्निकणवन्मन्त्रं यत्र मन्त्रीकृतास्पदः ॥"

Cf. also Chapter XXV, ślokas 148-149.

[210] *Cf.* the following ślokas of Śrī Praśna-Saṃhitā, on Mātṛkā, Chapter II:—

"तन्नतशक्तिराद्या सा चोदिता च सदा भवेत् ॥

अनस्तमितभारूप-वेद्यवेदकवर्ज्जिता ।

सा शक्तिः क्षुभितैकांशा वर्णरूपेण वर्त्तते ॥" (Śl. 3-4)

"जीवानां देहबद्धानां तत्तत्सन्मार्गदर्शिका ।

मातृका जायते सेयं विष्णुशक्त्युपबृंहिता ॥" (Śl. 29)

"एकैव भिन्नवर्णा या देवी षोड़शरूपिणी ।

मन्त्राणां जननी साक्षात् तव मन्त्रमयी तनुः ॥"

(Ch. 52, Śl. 31)

Cf. also ślokas 36-38 for वर्णमातृका

[211] There are Chapters XX, XXII and XXIII called Mātṛkā, prakāśa and Mantraprabhāva-varṇanam and so forth.

[212] *Cf.* Mahānirvāṇatantra—9th Ullāsaḥ, ślokas 87, 88, 89 and 118.

[213] *Cf.* Kāmikāgama-Mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ:—

"मन्त्रो द्विरूपो विज्ञेयो वाच्यवाचकभेदतः ।

वाग्रूपो वाचकः प्रोक्तो वाच्यस्त्वर्थात्मकः स्मृतः ॥

नादो मन्त्र इति प्रोक्तः स नादो जायते परात् ।

स नादः कथ्यते विप्रः पर्य्यायैः शिवनामभिः ॥

स्थूलः सूक्ष्मः परश्चेति त्रिविधः परिपठ्यते ॥

शब्दबोधानुभूतात्मा सर्व्वप्राणिहृदिस्थितः ।

पञ्चाशद्रुद्रभेदेन पञ्चाशच्छक्तिभेदतः ।

संस्थिता मातृका ज्ञेया साधकैस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥

मातृका सर्व्वमन्त्राणां मुख्यभूता भवेदिह ।
अनया साध्यते सर्व्वं तस्मादेतत् न्यसेज्जपेत् ॥"

[214] *Cf.* Paushkara Āgama—8th Paṭalaḥ called Tantra-mantrotpatti-paṭalaḥ—Slokas 19-20.

"सर्व्वज्ञा मातृका ज्ञेया जगतो मातृवत् स्थिता ।
यथा भूता च सा देवी शिवशक्तिप्रभेदतः॥"

Cf. also Slokas 22-23.

[215] *Cf.* Bhaṭṭabhāskara's Sivasūtra-Vārttika :—

"योनयः शक्तयो ज्ञेयास्तस्तः सर्व्वकारणम् ।
अम्बा ज्येष्ठाभिधा रौद्री वामा च शिवमूर्त्तयः ॥ (Sl. 19)
तासां वर्गः समूहः स्यात्तच्छरीरं कलासु च
'अ'-कारादि'च'-पर्य्यन्ताः कलास्ताः शब्दकारणम् ॥ (Sl. 20)

[216] *Cf.* Kallaṭa's Vṛtti on Kārikā 45, 47 and 48 :—

"शब्दराशिः अ-कारादिच-कारान्त...समूहभूतस्य कादिवर्गात्मकस्य ब्राह्म' शक्तिसमूहस्य भोग्यतां गतः पुरुषो, ब्राह्मादीनां कलाभिः क-काराद्यक्षरैर्विलुप्तविभवः स्वस्वभावात् प्रच्यावितः पशुरुच्यते ॥"

[217] *Cf.* Rāmakaṇṭha's Vivṛti on Kārikā 184th Niḥṣyanda :—

"एषा हि परमेश्वर-स्वरूपप्रकाशप्रत्यवमर्शमात्ररूपा परैव शक्तिः वाग्रूपतया प्रस्थिता । etc.

तदेवमियं पारमेश्वरी पराशक्तिः स्वभावप्रत्यवमर्शक्रियादिना साङ्केतिकशब्दपर्य्यन्तेन निरवधिना स्वमहिम्ना प्रसृता, etc., etc."

[218] *Cf.* "एवमसन् वैखरीरूपतामापन्नापि मातृकावर्गवर्णपदवाक्यार्थभेदेन अपर्य्यन्त' प्रसरं गृह्णाति ।"

"सैयमेव वैखरीरूपतामापन्ना......स्थूला क्रियाशक्तिरित्यपि क्वचिदुक्ता, तत्पूर्व्वा च मध्यमा वाक् इच्छाशक्तिः, तत्पूर्व्वा च पश्यन्ती ज्ञानशक्तिः, etc."

[219] Vāk personified as a female principle of speech in early Vedic times and then she came to be conceived of as a creative power or Sakti. In the Brāhmaṇas, this goddess of speech became the wife of the creator

(Prajāpati) and in union with whom she created all things. Sometimes she is placed absolutely at the beginning of all things of Bṛh. Upa. IV, 1, 2 and I, 4, 3. Garbe on Vāc—"Philosophy of Ancient India," p. 53.

220 *Cf.* Vṛtti on Kārikā 18:—

"योऽपि वाक्यरूप: प्रसरोऽस्या:, स नित्यानित्यभेदेन द्विविध:,—तत्र मन्त्रात्मक: शास्त्रात्मकश्च नित्य:, लौकिकव्यवहारविषय:—लौकिकवाक्यात्मकस्तु अनित्य: ।"

221 "चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि,
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिण: ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति,
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या: वदन्ति ॥"

also,—

"अयं स शिंक्ते येन गौरभीवृता,
मिमातिमायुं-ध्वंसनावधिश्रित ।
सा चित्तिभिर्हिंचकार मर्त्तं,
विद्युद्भवन्ती प्रतिवव्रिमौहत ॥"

222 It is almost impossible to convey the logical import of the terms Vācya and Vācaka in English. Vācya literally means 'that which is capable of being spoken of' and Vācaka 'that which speaks of.' These are the two clearcut divisions into which the whole universe of reality, comprising thought and reality are often analysed in Indian Philosophy. Vācya is rendered by Mr. J. C. Chatterjee in his "Kashmere Śaivism" as 'predicable' in terms of discursive thought and speech.

223 *Cf.* Such Śruti texts as:—

(1) "Prāṇo' hyevaitān Sarvān Saṃbṛnkte."

(2) "Ta etasyaiva sarve rūpamabhavam"

224 *Cf.* "Tadasyedaṃ Vācā tantyā nāmabhir dāmabhiḥ."

(1) "Sarvaṃ Sitaṃ"

(2) Sarvaṃ hīdaṃ nāmani.

(3) "Vācārambhaṇaṃ vikāro nāmadheyam.

225 Tantrāloka Jayaratha's commentary on 3. 236.

परस्याः वाचः पुनरन्यानपेक्षम् परत्वम्, इत्यस्याः परतरं रूपम् ।

Cf. also Ananta Sakti's definition under the Sūtra 7 of Vātulanātha—

"वाक्चतुष्टयोदय-विरामप्रथा-सुखरः प्रथते "—"निरावरणनिरवकाशोदय-निरुत्तरनिस्तरङ्गपरमनभसि, उच्छलत्किञ्चिच्चलनात्मकप्रथमस्पन्दविकाशस्वभावावर्ण-रचनाम् मायूराण्डरसन्यायेन अद्वयमहासामरस्यतया अन्तर्धारयन्ती परेति प्रथिता ।"

226 This simile of the liquid in a peacock's egg is an Āgamic one. Then from the Āgamas, we find it borrowed by such schools as the Trika, Liṅgāyata and others.

Cf. Paushkara Āgama :—

" मायूराण्डरसो यद्वन्निर्विशेषार्थधारिका ।
पश्यन्ती वागियं ज्ञेया तृतीया शिवशासने ॥"

227 Īś. Pr. V. I. 5. 13 :—

"पूर्णत्वात् परा, वक्ति विश्वमपलपति प्रत्यवमर्शेन इति च वाक्, अतएव सा स्वरसेन चिद्रूपतया" etc.

"प्रत्यवमर्शश्चान्तरभिलापात्मक-शब्दनस्वभावः......इत्यादि प्रत्यवमर्शान्तरभित्ति-भूतत्वात् etc......."

228 *Cf.* Abhinava's Tantrāloka, 3-236, and Jayaratha's comments on it :—

" सैव हि परमेश्वरी स्वस्वातन्त्र्यात् बहीरूपतामुल्लिलासयिषुर्वाच्यवाचकक्रमानुदयात् विभागस्यास्फुटत्वात् चिद्-ज्योतिष एव प्राधान्यात् द्रष्टृरूपतया पश्यन्ती-शब्दव्यपदेश्या ।"

229 *Cf.* Paushkara :—

"प्राणवृत्तिमतिक्रान्ता वागियं मध्यमात्वया ।"

(Sl. 20 2nd Paṭalah)

230 *Cf.* Anantaśakti's Vṛtti on Vātūlanātha, Sūtra 7 :—

" सैव च सङ्कल्पविकल्पनिवहनिश्चयात्मबुद्धिभूमिं स्वीकृतवती वर्णपुञ्जं शिम्बिकाफल-न्यायेनान्तर्धारयन्ती मध्यमा इत्यभिहिता ।"

[231] *Cf.* Jayaratha on Tantrāloka, 3. 226:—

"ततोऽपि स्थानकरणप्रयत्नबलात्तत्तद्वर्णक्रमोपग्रहाद्विभागस्य स्फुटत्वात् दृश्यस्यैव प्राधान्याद्विखरे शरीरे भवत्वाद्वैखरीशब्दाभिधेया।"

The gradual evolution of Vāk through all these stages is thus explained by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the Lalitāsahasranāma by the illustration of the growth of a plant from its seed:—

"The Parā form is mere sound (शब्दब्रह्मन्) the potentiality of growth in the seed; Paśyantī (पश्यन्ती) is the seed beginning to sprout; the Madhyamā (मध्यमा) is when the first two small leaves appear, but are not yet separated; the Vaikharī (वैखरी) is when these two small leaves are separated but joined at the root."

[232] *Cf.* Tantrāloka 3. 198:—

"एकामर्शस्वभावत्वे शब्दराशिः स भैरवः।
आमृश्यच्छायया योगात् सैव शक्तिश्च मातृका॥"

Cf. also Jayaratha's comments on Tantrāloka, 3. 222.

[233] *Cf.* Jayaratha under Tantrāloka, 3. 232:—

"सर्व्वेषामेव मन्त्राणां विद्यानाञ्च यशस्विनी।
इयं योनिः समाख्याता सर्व्वमन्त्रेषु सर्व्वदा॥"

—"इत्यादिनिरूपितेन स्वेन रूपेणाज्ञाता माता इत्यर्थः।"

Cf. also Kshemarāja's Vimarśinī under Śivasūtra 1. 4:—

"घादिक्षान्तरूपा अज्ञाता माता मातृका विश्वजननी, etc.."

[234] Fuller discussions of the meaning, descriptions and application of mantras can be found in such Tāntric works as the Śāradātilaka and others. In the Kashmere School, the best source of such information is the Parātriṃśikā Tantra with Abhinava's commentary thereon. A very able exposition of Mantra-Śakti from modern

point of view is to be found in Sir J. Woodroffe's book "Śakti and Śākta" and also his other essays.

[235] *Cf.* also the well-known Āgamic dictum:—

"मननं सर्व्ववेदित्वं त्राणं संसारसागरात्।
मननत्राणधर्म्मित्वान्मन्त्र इत्यभिधीयते॥"

(सुप्रभेद-मन्त्रोद्धार-पटल:)।

[236] *Cf.* Kshemarāja's Vimarśinī under Śiva-Sūtra:—
"चित्तं मन्त्र:"—"चेत्यते विमृश्यते अनेन परं तत्त्वमिति चित्तम्। पूर्णस्फुरत्तासतत्त्वप्रासाद-प्रणवादि-विमर्शरूपं संवेदनम्। तदेव मन्त्रयते अन्तरभेदेन विमृश्यते परमेश्वर-स्वरूपमनेनेति कृत्वा मन्त्र:, etc."........"अथच मन्त्रदेवताविमर्शपरत्वेन प्राप्ततत्सामरस्यमाराधकचित्तमेव मन्त्र: न तु विचित्रवर्ण-संघट्टनामात्रकम्।"

[237] *Cf.* Vimarśinī on 2. 3, "विद्याशरीरसत्ता मन्त्ररहस्यम्।"—
"विद्या पराद्वयप्रथा, शरीरं स्वरूपं यस्य स विद्याशरीर: भगवान् शब्दराशि:, तस्य या सत्ता, अशेषविश्वाभेदमयपूर्णाहंविमर्शनात्मा स्फुरत्ता सा मन्त्राणां रहस्यमुपनिषत्।"

[238] "सर्व्वे वर्णात्मका मन्त्रास्ते च शक्त्यात्मका: प्रिये।
शक्तिस्तु मातृका ज्ञेया सा च ज्ञेया शिवात्मका॥"

[239] "मन्त्राणां जीवभूता तु या स्मृता शक्तिरव्यया।
तया हीना वरारोहे निष्फला: शारदाभ्रवत्॥"

[240] श्रीश्रीकण्ठीय-संहितायां तु,

"पृथङ्मन्त्र: पृथङ्मन्त्री न सिध्यति कदाचन।
ज्ञानमूलमिदं सर्व्वमन्यथा नैव सिध्यति॥" इत्युक्तम्।

[241] *Cf.* Parā-Triṃśikā, Śrīnagar edition, p. 151.
अन्यत्रापि—

"न पुंसि न परे तत्त्वे शक्तौ मन्त्रं निवेशयेत्।
जड़त्वान्निष्क्रियत्वाच्च न ते भोगापवर्गदा:॥"

[242] *Cf.* A. E. White, quoted in Evelyn Underhill's Mysticism, p. 189.

[243] This is the meaning given to the term "Vīra-

Saiva" by Dr. J. N. Farquhar in his book entitled "Outlines of the Religious Literature of India," p. 261.

Mr. E. P. Rice also gives the same meaning in his book "A History of Kanarese Literature" published in the "Heritage of India" Series, p. 49, Chapter IV. But we do not know from what source they derive this interpretation. To take the current meaning of Vīra as 'Stalwart' or 'Heroic' would be inadequate just as in the case of the same word in the Śiva Sūtra of Vasugupta, *viz.*, वितयभोक्ता वीरेशः." For our meaning *cf.* Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi, Ch. V. 15-17, pp. 57-58. *Cf.* also Vātulāgama, 10th Paṭala, Śls. 30-32.

[244] *Cf.* Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi, Ch. V. 13, 14. For the Vedic sanction of the Specific Liṅgāyata rites see the same work, Chapter VI. 36, 37, 38 and 40; Ch. VII. 43, Rudrākshadhāraṇasthalam, Sl. 23.

[245] Sid. Śikh., Ch. V. 4-7—

"वेदैकदेशवर्त्तिभ्यः सांख्यादिभ्यो महामुने ।
सर्व्ववेदानुसारित्वात् शैवं तन्त्रं विशिष्यते ॥"

[246] *Ibid*, Śl. 9.

Cf. also Suprabhedāgama—Kriyāpāda, Praśnavidhipaṭalaḥ, Śls. 28-29.

"शैवं पाशुपतं सोमं लाकुलञ्च चतुर्व्विधम् ।
तेषु शैवं परं सौम्यं रौद्रं पाशुपतादिकम् ॥ (28)
शैवं पुनश्चतुर्भेदं वामदक्षिणमेव च ।
मिश्रञ्चैव तु सिद्धान्तं तेषु सिद्धान्तमुत्तमम् ।
अष्टाविंशतिभेदेन सिद्धान्तं शृणु तत्त्वतः ॥" (29)

[247] Sid. Śikh. Ch. V. 11-12:—

"शक्तिप्रधानं वामाख्यं दक्षिणं भैरवात्मकम् ।
सप्तमातृपरं मिश्रं सिद्धान्तं वेदसम्मतम् ॥ (11)
वेदधर्म्माभिधायित्वात् सिद्धान्ताख्यः शिवागमः ।
वेदबाह्यविरोधित्वाद् वेदसम्मत उच्यते ॥" (12)

[248] For the Āgamic documents of Vīraśaivism compare the article of Mr. V. V. Ramanan—"Vīraśaivism—Phase of the Āgamānta" in the Siddhānta Dīpikā, Vol. XI, Nos. 2ff. The Suprabheda account of the origin of the five Vīra-Śaiva ācāryas has been separately published by Rao Shaheb Mallappa Vasappa Vārad from Sholapur.

Cf. Yogaja:—

"त्रिपदार्थं चतुष्पादं महातन्त्रं जगद्गुरुः ।
सूत्रैरेकेन संक्षिप्य प्राह विस्तरतः पुनः ॥
पिण्डादिज्ञानशून्यान्तमेकोत्तरशतस्थलम् ।
विभक्तं दिश्यते यत्र तत्सिद्धान्तमुदाहृतम् ॥"

[249] On Liṅga, *cf.* Suprabheda—Jñānapāda, Śiva-sṛshṭividhipaṭalaḥ, Śls. 27-34; 55-60.

In the same Āgama—Kriyāpāda, 33rd Paṭalaḥ is called Liṅgalakshaṇavidhi-paṭalaḥ in which the subject is discussed in detail.

Cf. Yogajāgama:—

"संसूतत्वात् समस्तेषु वस्तुष्वपि तु सन्ततम् ।
सूचनात् परमेशस्य सूत्रं लिङ्गमितीरितम् ॥"

(quoted in कैवल्यसार)

[250] *Cf.* Kāmika—Śivānujñāpaṭalaḥ:—

"सर्व्वशक्तियुतं नादं तेजोरूपञ्च निष्कलम् ।
इति ध्यात्वा तथा लिङ्गे शक्तये च नमो नमः ॥ (199)
शिवलिङ्गं त्रिधा प्रोक्तं व्यक्तमव्यक्तकं तथा ॥ (203)
व्यक्ताव्यक्तमिति प्रोक्तं लिङ्गं देशिकसत्तम ।
ब्रह्म विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च व्यक्तरूपमुदाहृतम् ॥ (204)
सदाशिव-महेशौ तु व्यक्ताव्यक्तमुदाहृतौ ।
विन्दुनादौ शक्तिशिवौ अव्यक्तेन प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥" (205)

[251] *Cf.* Mariṭontada's commentary on Sid. Śikh.

VIII. 17-18. Also Kāmikāgama, Mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ :—

"तिरोधानं न-कारं स्यात् म-कारश्च मलं भवेत्। शि-कारं शिवरूपश्च, etc."

[252] The doctrine of Jaṅgama is one of the most distinctive features of Vīra-Śaivism. The following explanatory remarks of Rev. G. Würth is worth considering:—"The Liṅgāyata priests are called Jaṅgama, an appellation of which the meaning is not perfectly certain. It is most probable, however, that they were thus called in consequence of a still existing rule which enjoins them to be constantly on the move, unmarried, poorly dressed, begging their food and wandering from place to place. (Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1864-1866) Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi explains the term in Chapter XI "जङ्गममाहात्म्यस्थलनिरूपणम्," Śls. 2-3, as those Śiva-Yogins who know Śiva as the illuminator of the universe by means of His Cit and Kriyā Śaktis and nothing apart from the universe (स्वस्वरूपतया)."

[253] Vasava Purāna, Ch. LVII, gives an account of the ancient Vīra-Saiva saints:—

(1) वीरशङ्कर दास, (2) वड्डिदेव, (3) तेलुगु जोमेय्या, (4) हेरडदमार, (5) कोलशान्त, (6) कक्केय्या, (7) चन्देय्या and (8) एकान्तरामेय्या—*cf.* Translation of this Purāṇa by Rev. G. Würth. According to the Channa Vasava Purāṇa the Vīra-Śaiva Purātanas are:—

(1) Ahappageyaru	(in Tamil	Iyarppagai	Nayanār)
(2) Chirunote Yāṇḍāru	(,,	Srirutoṇḍa	,,)
(3) Kaligaṇanātaru	(,,	Gaṇanātha	,,)
(4) Murkhanaināru	(,,	Mūrkha	,,)
(5) Perumaleyaru	(,,	Idaṅguḍi	,,)
(6) Mārabhaktaru	(,,	Iḷaiyāṅgudimāra	,,)
(7) Chendakesigalu	(,,	Chaṇḍeśvara	,,)

(8) Siriyala Sitti or Chiruṭoṇḍa Bhaktaru.

Cf. Jeerige Basavaliṅgappa's article—Siddhānta Dīpikā, Vol. XI, p. 493.

[254] Sid. Sikh., Chs. III and IV.

"मदद्वैतपरं शास्त्रं वेदवेदान्तसम्मतम् ।
स्थापयिष्यसि भूलोके सर्व्वेषां हितकारकम् ॥
मम प्रतापमतुलं मद्भक्तानां विशेषतः ।
प्रकाशय महीभागे वेदमार्गानुसारतः ॥"

This work relates that this Saiva system was first revealed by the Lord Siva to His son Kārtikeya (Shaḍānana) and Pārvatī, His divine spouse. And from Kārtikeya Reṇuka, the most favourite Gaṇa (attendant) came to learn this precious body of Saivic truths. Then from Reṇuka this Vidyā was promulgated for the benefit of the world to Agastya.

[255] Who this Māyideva is it is difficult to ascertain. His date is yet uncertain. In Basava Purāṇa, however, one Māyideva is mentioned amongst several early Vīra-Saiva poets as Moggeya Māyideva. His work "Anubhava Sūtra" has been published from Sholapur by Srīdatta-prasāda in the series called "Vīra-Saivaliṅgibrāhmaṇa-granthamālā."

Cf. (1) Somanātha, (2) Upamanyu, (3) Bhīmanātha, (4) Kaleśvara, (5) Boppanātha, (6) Someśvaraliṅga, (7) Nānakarājaprabhu, (8) Saṅgameśvaraprabhu, (9) Māyideva.

[256] Sid. Sikh., Ch. XX, in introduction to Sl.7 quotes the following from Parā-Triṃśikā:—

"यथा न्यग्रोधवीजस्थः शक्तिरूपो महाद्रुमः ।
तथा हृदयवीजस्थं जगदेतच्चराचरम् ॥"

[257] For "Vimarśa" in Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi, *cf.* Ch. XX, Bhāṇḍasthalaṃ, Sls. 1-5 and 6. Bhājanasthala, Sls. 1, 2 and 4:

"विमर्शाख्या परा शक्ति र्विश्ववैचित्र्यकारिणी ।
यस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठिता ब्रह्म तदिदं विश्वभाजनम् ॥

यथा चन्द्रे स्थिरा ज्योत्स्ना विश्ववस्तुप्रकाशिनी ।
तथा शक्तिर्विमर्शात्मा प्रकाशे ब्रह्मणि स्थिता ॥"

[258] There are traces in his commentary on the Siddhānta-Sikhāmaṇi of the influence of Abhinava Gupta whose Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī he quotes as "शिवाद्वैतशास्त्र;" *cf.* commentary on Sl. 2, Ch. XV. "स्फुटतरभासमाननील सुखादिप्रमातृत्वन्वेषणद्वारा पारमार्थिकप्रमातृत्वलाभ इहोपदिश्यते इति शिवाद्वैतशास्त्रोक्त" etc. Also Ch. XII, Sl. 5—"प्रमाणानां प्रमातृभित्तिलग्नत्वेनैव प्रमेय-प्रकाशकत्वनियमात् ।"

Apart from these Maritonṭadārya also quotes from Vijñānabhairava and Rudrayāmala tantra works mostly used in the Kashmere School. These instances show that at any rate the 14th century Liṅgāyata writers were fully acquainted with the Trika literature up to the time of Abhinava Gupta.

[259] Maritonṭadārya's commentary—Siddh. Sikh., Ch. V., Sl. 39.

[260] Dr. L. D. Barnett has expressed this view in his article " Saiva Siddhānta " contributed in Siddhānta Dīpikā, Vol. XI, p. 62ff. *Cf.* also his article " Notes on the Saiva Siddhāntam " published in " Le Museon."

[261] Numerous quotations from the Vedas and Upanishads can be found in such Vīra-Saiva manuals as the Kaivalya-Sāra, Anādi-Vīra-Saivamata-Saṃgraha, etc. Kaivalya-Sāra also quotes such minor Upanishads as Atharvaśira, Nārāyaṇī, Kaivalya, Brahma and others.

[262] This is the view held by Orientalists like Dr. L. D. Barnett and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. *Cf.* Dr. Barnett's "Hindu Gods and Heroes," Chap. II, p. 66, and also his article in the Siddhānta-Dīpikā referred to above. *Cf.* Dr. Bhandarkar's "Vaishṇavism, Saivism and other minor sects" Part II, p. 110. Section " Svetāśvatara and Atharva Upanishads."

[263] *Cf.* Kaivalya-Sāra, pp. 16, 84 and 96, Sholapur Edition.

[264] *Cf.* The remarks of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his "Outlines of Indian Philosophy," page 164, footnote.

"The Liṅgāyatas quote "अमृतस्य देवधारणो भूयासम्" [Taitt. Up. I, 4-1] 'O God! may I possess wisdom' and interpret it to mean 'may I wear the God.' The Saivas besmear their bodies with burnt dung and support the practice by quoting, "भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यम् [*Ibid*, I. II. I] 'Do not neglect greatness' and twisting its meaning into 'Do not forget to besmear yourself with burnt dung.'

[265] "Outlines of Indian Philosophy," p. 164. We consider this way of dealing with the entire system of Vīra-Saivism by a single sweeping remark as doing little justice to it. On this assumption of Mr. Iyengar how are we to explain away numerous Āgamic texts which all endeavour to explain the underlying principles of Vīra-Saivism?

[266] *Cf.* Kaivalya-Sāra, p. 43, where Maritoṇṭadārya quotes from Atharva Sīrsha Upanishad.

"प्राणेष्वन्तर्मनसो लिङ्गमाहुर्यस्मिन् क्रोधी या च तृष्णा क्षमा च," etc.

[267] The text quoted from the Ṛg Veda is:—

"पवित्रं ते विततं ब्रह्मणस्पते प्रभुर्गात्राणि पर्येषि विश्वतः ।
अतप्ततनुर्न तदामो अश्नुते श्रितास इद्वहन्तस्तत् समासत: ॥"

Srī Rudra Upanishad text is:—

"या ते रुद्र शिवा तनूरघोरा पापकाशिनी ।
तया नस्तनुवा शन्तमया गिरिशन्ताभिचाकशीहि ॥"

[268] *Cf.* Vyāsa Sūtras, 2.2.37-41.

Bhāmati, Ratnaprabhā, Nyāyanirṇaya—all take this Adhikaraṇa as a refutation of the Māheśvara Saivas whom they divide into 4 groups—(1) Saiva, (2) Kāruṇika, (3) Pāśupata and (4) Kāpālika.

[269] *Cf.* The following passage from Vīra-Śaiva-sarvotkarshadīpikā by Channa Vṛshabhendra Swāmī—Mysore Edition, 1883 :—

"पाशुपतस्य वैदिकावैदिकभेदेन द्वैविध्यात् निषेधवचनानाम् अवैदिक-पाशुपत-परत्वेन विधिवचनानां वैदिकपाशुपतवीरशैवपरत्वेन व्यवस्थाया एव अप्पयदीक्षितैः कल्पतरुव्याख्याने परिमले पत्युरसामञ्जस्यात् इत्यधिकरणे पाशुपतभेदमुक्त्वा तत्र नकुलिशपाशुपतस्य अग्राह्यत्वमभ्यधायि—तस्मात् वीरशैवधर्म्माणां तान्त्रिकत्वं निषेध्य तावच्छेदकं न भवति।"

[270] *Cf.* The following extract quoted by Mr. P. T. Śrīnivāsa Iyengar in his book "Outlines of Indian Philosophy," p. 163 :—

"Brahman is never Nirviśesha (Devoid of attributes). He is always bodied (mūrta) as well as unbodied.........He is said to be one (only) before creation. The old teachers of the Vedas, Reṇuka, Dāruka, Saṁkhakarṇa, Gokarṇa, Revaṇasiddha, Marulasiddha, etc., have taught that the Advaita texts of Brahmā (*i.e.*, of the Vedas) refer to the stage before creation, as then, the world, manifested or unmanifested does not exist.........The declaration that all knowledge (flows) from the knowledge of one as in the illustration of earth (Chh. Up., VI. 1-4) is due to the identity of cause and effect, etc., etc." [Śrīkara Bhāṣya on Vedānta Sūtra, I. I. 1.]

[271] *Cf.* Bhandarkar's "Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Other Minor Sects," Part II, Section II, pp. 104ff.

[272] *Cf.* Vācaspatimiśra's Bhāmati on Vyāsa Sūtra 2. 2. 37.

"माहेश्वराश्चत्वारः शैवाः पाशुपताः कारुणिकाः सिद्धान्तिनः कापालिकाश्चेति। चत्वारोऽप्यमी महेश्वरप्रणीतसिद्धान्तानुयायितया माहेश्वराः।"

[273] *Cf.* Siddh. Śikh., Ch. X, 1-20.

[274] The anti-Advaitic tendency in Vīra-Śaivism is also apparent from the account of Bāsava's arguments against a Vedāntist adversary by means of a strawman whom

he makes alive and teaches all the Sāstras and finally defeats the opponent.

Cf. Bāsava purāṇa—Translated by Rev. G. Würth in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1864-66, p. 87, article 19. This story stripped off all exaggerations and supernatural embellishments seems to record the historical event of a real logical contest of Basava with a Vedāntist opponent in the court of Bijjala.

[275] *Cf.* Siddhānta Sikhāmaṇi, Chapter X.

"प्रेरकं शंकरं बुद्धा प्रेर्य्यमात्मानमेव च ।
भेदात्तं पूजयेन्नित्यं न चाद्वैतपरो भवेत् ॥
पतिः साक्षान्महादेवः पशुरेष तदाश्रयः ।
अनयोः स्वामिभृत्यत्वमभेदे कथमिष्यते ॥
भेदस्य कर्महेतुत्वाद्व्यवहारः प्रवर्त्तते ।
लिङ्गपूजादिकर्मस्थो न चाद्वैतं समाचरेत् ॥
पूजादिव्यवहारः स्याद्भेदाश्रयतया सदा ।
लिङ्गपूजापरस्तस्मान् नाद्वैते निरतो भवेत् ॥"

Cf. also Kaivalya-Sāra chapter;

[276] Kaivalya-Sāra, pages 46, 64, 71, 104 and 108. सूतसंहिता, 8th Adhyāya, Sl. 31; Poona Edition gives the following injunction in favour of Bhāsma Tripuṇḍra liṅga—clearly Vīra-Saiva-practices:—

" शिवागमोक्ताश्रमनिष्ठमानवः ।
त्रिपुण्ड्रलिङ्गं तु सदैव धारयेत् ॥
तदुक्ततन्त्रेण ललाटमध्यमे ।
महादरेणैव सितेन भस्मना ॥"

But the सनत्कुमारसंहिता, शङ्करसंहिता and वायवीयसंहिता—are the three most favoured संहिताs of the Vīra-Saiva.

[277] Quotations from योगवासिष्ठ may be found in कैवल्यसार ।

[278] *Cf.* वातुलागम, 10th पाठः, Śls. 8-16, 24-32:

"शैवं चतुर्विधं ज्ञेयं समासाच्छृणु षण्मुख।
सामान्यं मिश्रकं चैव शुद्धं वीरं यथाक्रमम्॥

Cf. सूक्ष्मागम, 7th पाठः, Śls. 6-15.

शैवाः सप्तविधा ज्ञेयास्तेषां भेदं शृणु क्रमात्।
अनादिशैवः प्रथमम्, आदिशैवस्ततःपरम्।
महाशैवस्ततो ज्ञेयस्त्वनुशैवस्ततः परम्॥
अवान्तरस्ततो ज्ञेयः प्रवरस्तदनन्तरम्।
अन्त्यशैवस्ततो ज्ञेयस्तेषां लक्षणमुच्यते॥

also—"आचारभेदाच्छैवस्य प्रभेदः कथ्यतेऽधुना।
सामान्यशैवं प्रथमं मिश्रशैवं ततः परम्॥
शुद्धशैवं ततो ज्ञेयं वीरशैवं ततः परम्।"

[279] *Cf.* Vātulāgama, 10th Paṭalaḥ
Cf. Pārameśvarāgama, Śls. 12-14 ff.

[280] *Cf.* Sholapur edition—Vīra-Saivasarvotkarsha-pradīpikā, p. 20, articles 95ff.

"......क्षत्रियवैश्यादयो लिङ्गिनः सामान्यवीरशैवभक्त-माहेश्वराराध्याभिधब्राह्मणा लिङ्गधारिणो विशेषवीरशैवा लिङ्गाङ्गिब्राह्मणयतिनो निराभार इति निर्णीयते।"

Cf. शैवरत्नाकर—"जङ्गमस्तु निराभारो भाराभार-विवर्जितः॥" (118)

[281] Śls. 34-38, 51-53, 56, 58, 61, 75-82.

[282] "Ishṭaliṅga" corresponds to the material body or stone-liṅga, "Prāṇa-liṅga" to the vital principle or subtile body and "Bhāva-liṅga" to the spirit.

[283] *Cf.* Karibasava Śāstri's edition of "Vīra-Saiva-dharmaśiromaṇi" in Kanarese character, I. 5-16. Also Pārameśvarāgama extracts published in the journal "Vīra-Saivamataprakāśikā," March and January numbers.

[284] *Cf.* Basava's "Vacanas" translated by P. G. Halkatti also "Vīra-Saivadharmaśiromaṇi, Ch. II, Śl. 9.

[285] *Cf.* Extract from Parameśvarāgama quoted in Vīraśaivamataprakāśikā, March and January numbers:

"चराचरात्मकं सर्व्वं जगदेतच्छिवात्मकम् ।
भावयन्नात्मतादात्म्यं योगशैवमते वसेत् ॥ (18)
न बाह्यपूजा नाचारो नैव जङ्गमपूजनम् ।
न प्रत्युत्थानमन्यस्य योगशैवमते मम ॥ (19)
विविक्तं देशमाश्रित्य परित्यज्य धनादिकम् ।
निर्म्ममो निरहङ्कारो ध्यायीतात्मानमीश्वरम् ॥ (20)
जगल्लिङ्गमयं पश्येत् लिङ्गं मद्रूपमीचयेत् ।
मदात्मानं परं ध्यायेद योगशैवमते स्थित: ॥ (21)
तदेतज्ज्ञानशैवाख्यं ज्ञानस्य ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।
जगत्तदात्मकं ज्ञानं महाज्ञानमितीश्वरि ॥ (22)
न ध्यानं नापि वायामो नार्च्चा जङ्गमलिङ्गिनम् ।
न योगधारणं ज्ञानं शिवस्थस्य मम प्रिये ॥ (23)
यो ज्ञानशैवमतगो य उक्तक्रमनिष्ठित: ।
स जीवन्नेव विश्वेशि शिवोऽहं नात्र संशय: ॥ (24)"

[286] *Cf.* Madras Journal of Science and Literature, Series I, Vol. XI (1840), p. 152.

[287] *Cf.* Bangalore edition of Kriyāsāra printed in Telegu character, Upodghāta prakaraṇam, Śls. 49, 50, 51, 54, etc.

"आद्यतत्त्वमहालिङ्गलक्षणं त्वेकविंशकै ॥
शक्तिवैशिष्ट्यमुदितं द्वाविंशे सप्रमाणकम् ॥
चतुर्विंशे षट्स्थलोक्तिरथ दीक्षा विशेषत: ॥"

[288] Sid. Śikh., Ch. II, 13.

[289] *Ibid*, Ch. II, 12 ; Ch. I, 8, 10, and comments thereon.

[290] *Cf.* Maritonṭada's comments on Sid. Śikh., Ch. I, 18.

[291] Sid. Śikh., Ch. I, 9 ; II, 2.

[292] *Ibid*, Ch. V, 39, 44 and 45 and Maritonṭada's comments.

[293]

[294] *Cf.* Paushkara Āgama, Paṭala II (Bindu Paṭala), sls. 38-41 also 50-51. Also Paṭala VII (Pramāṇa).

[295] *Cf.* note 292.

[296] Sid. Śikh., Ch. V, 40-43.

[297] *Ibid*, Maritonṭada's Commentary on Ch. V, 39.

[298] *Cf.* Maritonṭada's Commentary on Ch XVIII, 11.

[299] Sid. Śikh., Ch. II, 25-26.

[300] Elements of Hindu Iconography—Introduction, p. 8.

[301] Barth's Religions of India, p. 261.

[302] *Cf.* Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Series I, Vol. XI, 1840, pp. 145, 167.

[303] Barth's Religions of India, p. 207, and Hopkins' Religions of India, p. 482.

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[305] Sukshmāgama, Paṭala I, sl. 39.

[306] *Ibid*, Paṭala VI (Liṅgasvarūpapūjāphala), sls. 4-13.

[307] Sid. Śikh., Ch. VI, 10-14, 15. Maritonṭada explains—"भक्तानां ध्यानपूजार्थम्."

[308]

[309] Sid. Śikh., Ch. XII, 10-12.

[310] *Ibid*, Ch. XII, 1, p. 18, Part II (Sholapur Edition).

[311] Bṛ. Up. "तद् यथा स्त्रिया सम्परिष्वक्त: न वाह्यं किञ्चन" etc.

[312] Sid. Śikh., Ch. XII, 4-8.

[313] *Ibid*, Ch. XII, 9 (Sholapur Edition).

[314] Indian Antiquary, Vol. 51, 1922.

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